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JEWISH DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME OF EZRA

Translations of Early Documents

TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY. DOCUMENTS
SERIES I

PALESTINIAN JEWISH TEXTS
(PRE-RABBINIC)

JEWISH DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME OF EZRA

JEWISH DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME OF EZRA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARAMAIC

BY

A. COWLEY

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Papyri translated in this volume were found, probably all at Elephantine, together with others not included here, between the years 1898 and 1908. No. 27 was published by Euting in the *Mémoires présentés . . . à l'Académie des Inscriptions* (Paris, 1903); No. 11 by Cowley in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for 1903; Nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 20, 25, 28 by Sayce and Cowley in *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906); the rest, published by Sachau in *Aramäische Papyrus . . .* (Leipzig, 1911), are now translated into English, mostly for the first time. The last two publications contain excellent facsimiles. The texts have given occasion to a very considerable literature, dealing with the many interesting questions which they raise in history, religion and language.[1]

Documents on papyrus, such as these, have a special interest, because they preserve to us the actual words and writing of a remote past. In fact, they are records contemporary with the events to which they relate, and are therefore (like inscriptions) first-hand historical evidence, uncorrupted by the errors which inevitably appear when a text is transmitted by repeated copies through the centuries.[2] Inscriptions are also first-hand

[1] For fuller information the reader is referred to a complete edition, which, it is hoped, will be published as soon as circumstances permit.

[2] Thus No. 5 was rolled up, tied and sealed in 471 B.C., and was not opened again till 1904 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

evidence, but they are as a rule short, formal, and concerned only with the greater events of history. Papyri not only tell us of public events, but also give us an insight into the private life and circumstances of the past.

The present texts, which are nearly all dated, cover practically the whole of the fifth century B.C. (494 to *circ.* 400), during which time Egypt was under Persian rule. They are dated by the regnal years of Darius I, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and the Egyptian king Amyrtæus, and have been arranged here chronologically, so as to give something of an historical picture. They emanate from a hitherto unknown colony of Jews settled in the south of Egypt at Elephantine and Syene. Thus they are the earliest Jewish documents in existence (except one or two inscriptions) outside the Bible, and are a valuable contemporary illustration of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The language in which they are written is Aramaic, a language distinct from, though closely allied to, Hebrew: not, as used to be thought, a debased form of Hebrew, but related to it somewhat as Italian is related to Spanish. And this Aramaic is, with some reservations, the same as that in which parts of the Book of Ezra are composed. We need not here discuss the reasons why that book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic, but it may be pointed out that if Ezra wrote Aramaic, this is the sort of Aramaic he would write. It was, in fact, like modern French, the diplomatic [1] or international language of that time in the East, and was used by the Persian Government in the administration of the provinces, as we see from the version of the Behistun inscription (p. 96) sent to

[1] Cf. 2 Kings 18 [26], where the "Jews' language" is Hebrew, and "Syrian" is Aramaic, which an official messenger might be expected to use.

the colony in Egypt for their information. Even long before this time it was used in Babylonia by the royal scribes, as well as in everyday business,[1] and Ezra, as a "skilled scribe," must have been familiar with it. It was not because they were Jews that Ezra or the people of Elephantine employed it. The kind of writing used in the papyri is also that in which Ezra must have written his copy of the Law, and from which the modern square Hebrew character is lineally descended. Arguments as to the form of the text from his time onwards must therefore be based on this sort of writing and not on the old Hebrew.

As to the origin of the colony whose existence is here revealed to us, we have no evidence in the texts themselves. That it was Jewish, and conscious of being so, seems to be certain.[2] Individual members of it are described as *Yehudi*, "Jew," the community is called "the Jewish force," and the names of the people are good Jewish names of the post-exilic type, mostly ending in *-iah*.[3] They were, however, not the only inhabitants of Elephantine, for we find names of various other nationalities, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Arab, etc. The Jews lived apparently on equal terms with the people of other races, doing business with them, and even intermarrying without compunction.

Probably the connexion between Judæa and Egypt was always close, and Jewish settlers in Egypt must have become more numerous as trade increased; cf. *e. g.* Deut. 17 [16], Jer. 44. But this colony seems to have had a more definite origin. It was essentially military, since it is called the "Jewish force" (army

[1] This is shown by the Aramaic "dockets" or endorsements written in ink on cuneiform contract-tablets.

[2] Though Dr. Hoonacker has argued (*Schweich Lectures*, 1914 (London, 1915)) that it was Samaritan.

[3] No names in -el.

or garrison), was divided into *degalin* (companies or detachments), and received pay and rations from the Government. It consisted, therefore, *originally* of mercenaries in the employment of the Government. Now, the writer of the letter of Aristeas [1] incidentally mentions (§ 13) that Psammetichus, King of Egypt, used Jewish mercenaries in his campaign against Ethiopia. This must be Psammetichus II (see Herodotus ii, 159), who reigned from 595 to 590 B.C., and the statement agrees very well with what we gather from these papyri. After the war the soldiers were settled in the two fortresses of Syene and Elephantine as a protection to the southern boundary of the kingdom. Possibly other Jewish settlers joined them there afterwards. At any rate they had their wives and families, who were also reckoned as members of a "company," like the men, and they held property and engaged in various civil pursuits. The members of other races were no doubt mercenaries by origin, enrolled in companies according to race, as was the case in Ptolemaic times. We sometimes find a man who is called a Jew of Elephantine elsewhere described as an Aramæan of Syene (but never a Jew of Syene), which seems to show that the Jews, as such, were stationed at Elephantine, while various western Asiatics, called vaguely Aramæans, were at Syene. The latter, as the more important place, would give its name to the whole district, including Elephantine, just as Aramæan (= western Semite) might be taken to include Jews.

These colonists, then, were already settled in the south of Egypt at the time when their brethren were returning to Jerusalem, and they were developing inde-

[1] An account of the origin of the "Septuagint" translation of the Old Testament (and of Jewish religion, etc.), written perhaps in the first century B.C. See Charles's *Apocrypha*, II, p. 83, and Thackeray's *The Letter of Aristeas* in this series.

pendently as a religious community during all the constructive, or re-constructive, activity of Ezra and Nehemiah. What was the relation of this outlying branch to the main body of the Jewish people? To pre-exilic or post-exilic Judaism? How far was Jeremiah (chap. 44) justified in his denunciation of the Jews in Egypt? Did they remain true to the faith of their pre-exilic fathers, or were they influenced by the new gospel of Ezra? Some of these questions will perhaps never be conclusively answered. A few only of the facts can be stated here, and the reader may be left to form his own conclusions.

The religious and internal affairs of the community were directed by priests, as we see from No. 30 [1] and frequently, but these priests (*kahanin*) are never called sons of Aaron. They acknowledged the God of the Jews, who is called Yahu,[1] the older (not an abbreviated) form of the name which we used to pronounce Jehovah, now generally written Yahweh. They had no scruple, as the later Jews had, about writing or uttering the name. But we also find mention of Ishumbethel and ʿAnathbethel (No. 22 [124-125]), apparently as gods associated with Yahu, though their relation to him is obscure. Elsewhere Ḥerembethel and ʿAnathyahu seem to be gods, and we find personal names compounded with Bethel and Ḥerem, just as others are formed with -yah(u). Whatever may be the origin of the other names, it is probable that Bethel is the old Canaanite god (cf. Gen. 31 [13] in the Hebrew), whom the colonists had brought with them. Not only so, but in No. 14 [5] a Jewess of good position (therefore presumably not from ignorance), in a transaction with an Egyptian,

[1] This spelling is used here provisionally, because it has been adopted by most writers on these papyri. It probably does not represent the true pronunciation of the name.

takes an oath by the Egyptian goddess Sati. Yet it is evident throughout that they regarded Yahu as the supreme God, and themselves as specially devoted to the worship of Yahu.

This worship was conducted in a temple—not merely a synagogue or meeting-house, but (from the description in No. 30) a building of considerable dignity, containing an altar on which burnt-sacrifice was offered to Yahu. Now, according to Deuteronomy (12 [5-6], etc.) this ought to have been impossible. The law is very definite : sacrifice was only to be offered in the place which the Lord should choose, to put His name there. It is a clear restriction of the earlier practice recognised in Exodus and frequently illustrated in the Books of Samuel.[1] Was the colony, then, ignorant of Deuteronomy, or did it understand the command to apply only to Judæa, or was it frankly heretical? Not the last, apparently, for when their temple was destroyed they appealed to Jerusalem for help to rebuild it. Clearly they saw no reason why they should not offer sacrifices in their local temple, just as Samuel sacrificed at Gilgal (1 Sam. 11 [15]) and others elsewhere. Both this practice and the worship of other (subsidiary) gods look like a continuation of earlier, pre-exilic customs, which became impossible in Judæa after the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. It was Deuteronomy which centralised the religious life of the people by making Jerusalem the place where alone men ought to worship. The usually accepted view now is [2] that Deuteronomy was composed at some time not long before the eighteenth year of Josiah (621 B.C.), and that his abolition of " high places " and celebration of a great central national Passover were intended to emphasise the royal sanction

[1] See Driver, *Literature of the Old Testament*, ed. 9, p. 85.
[2] See Driver, *ibid.*, p. 86.

of its enactments. It is not to be supposed, however, that the old practices could be changed all at once, especially as the exile followed soon after, thereby breaking all continuity. So that, on this view, Deuteronomy failed in its effect temporarily, until its provisions could be enforced by Ezra and Nehemiah. If this view be accepted, it becomes intelligible that Jews who went on foreign service, and were settled abroad before (perhaps long before) 590 B.C., should have been little influenced by the new legislation. Their descendants would soon lose all memory of Josiah's reforms, since there was nothing to preserve that memory after the fall of Jerusalem (588). They were as sheep without a shepherd in the spiritual desert of Egypt. Their national existence was ended, and it is not surprising or discreditable that they should have organised themselves as an independent religious community, and, since the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed, should have erected a temple of their own at Elephantine.[1] According to the statement in 30 [13], it was built before the Persian conquest of Egypt, and when Cambyses came into the country (in 525) it was already there, and was not injured by him.

Much more difficult to understand is the complete silence of these texts as to some of the fundamental facts of Jewish history and religion. One would suppose that the colonists had never heard of Moses or the Exodus, of Abraham or Jacob, of David or Solomon. There is not the faintest allusion to the Sabbath, nor to the Law.[2] Though there are priests, they are not

[1] The case of the 'Onias-temple' (about 150 B.C.) is on a different footing, and need not be discussed here.

[2] There might have been such an allusion in the letter to the High Priest Johanan (30 [18]), which we do not possess. As No. 30 is addressed to Bigvai, a *Persian*, it may have been thought unnecessary to speak of the Law.

called sons of Aaron, and there is no mention of Levites, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor indeed of any other tribe. Nor is there any reference to any of the festivals—except only the Passover and Unleavened Bread (on which see below). All this may be accidental: it may be merely that the texts are not of a kind to involve such allusions, and it is always dangerous to argue from silence. Still, we should expect a hint of some of these special characteristics of Judaism in so considerable an amount of literature. The fact that there is none suggests a doubt whether these isolated colonists in the fifth century B.C. really knew anything of their early history and institutions—and this doubt again suggests a question whether they had forgotten it all, or, supposing their mental attitude to be that of their ancestors in 600 B.C., whether the ordinary Jew of that date, in Judæa, was equally uninstructed.

Even the mention of the Passover does not make the case better, for a special order seems to have been necessary for its celebration, and the regulations for the feast of Unleavened Bread, which is connected with it, have to be explained to the people. Such, at least, seems to be the meaning of No. 21. The papyrus is, unfortunately, very imperfect, but there is enough to show that it is an order from the Persian king (Darius II) relating to a festival of the Jews. The gaps can be filled with a certain amount of probability, since we know the approximate length of the lines, and some of the sentences can only be completed in one way. In any case it is an announcement by a certain Hananiah (a man of importance, as appears elsewhere) that an order has been sent *by the king* to Arsames (satrap of Egypt), and if our conjecture is right, it was an order to celebrate a feast. Then Hananiah proceeds to give instructions, first to reckon fou*rteen days* (the next

clause being lost), and then from the 15th to the 21st day of Nis*an* to abstain from leaven, etc. There can therefore be no doubt that it is the Passover which is meant to be kept on the 14th day *of Nisan*, and that the seven days following it are the days of Unleavened Bread. The gap in which the celebration of the Passover is presumably ordained is too short to allow of any instructions as to the manner of celebrating it, while the instructions for the feast of Unleavened Bread are relatively full. Thus it would seem that the colony knew about the Passover,[1] although they had not kept it regularly, but that the feast of Unleavened Bread was either unknown to them or had been entirely neglected.

The important point, about which there can be no question, is that the order was sent by the Persian king. It was a curt command, and the details were added by the messenger, who was a Jew. If, then, Darius could be induced, for whatever reasons, to issue a special edict concerning a single religious observance in an obscure colony of Jews, we need not question the authenticity of the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7 [12], dealing with the much more important matter of Ezra's mission. In neither case need we suppose that the details are due to the king himself. In the papyrus they certainly are not, and in Ezra 7 [12] one can imagine the king, when once his consent had been obtained, saying, "Very well, then, give the man an order for what he wants." The order would then be drawn up by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, probably advised by Ezra himself, and sealed by the king's seal-bearer. Granted the initial good-will of the king, there is nothing improbable about the rest.

Prof. E. Meyer begins his book on these papyri with

[1] There is also a reference to it on an ostracon (inscribed potsherd) of this date, not included in the present volume.

the remark: "Judaism is a creation of the Persian Empire." [1] This is perhaps an over-statement, but there can be no doubt that, humanly speaking, the reconstruction of Judaism (and therefore the modern development of it) was greatly helped and strengthened by the good-will of the Persian kings. There was first the original edict of Cyrus, then the respect shown by Cambyses for the temple at Elephantine (30 [14]), then the help given by Artaxerxes, and lastly this order of Darius. The good-will is manifest: the reason of it is not so clear. It may have been due to a real religious sympathy between the worshippers of Auramazda and the people of the God of heaven, or it may have been part of an enlightened policy of toleration, or the Jews in Babylonia may have made themselves so useful and powerful as to be able to gain concessions by their influence, or, since we know from numerous cuneiform contracts of their great commercial activity, they may have become rich enough to be able to bribe the necessary officials. However we account for the fact, it is clear from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah that their work could never have been successful under a Government which was either hostile or neutral.

Such are some of the larger questions raised by the new texts. Many details may also be gathered from them incidentally as to the daily life of the colonists: as to the legal procedure (which is in the main Babylonian, not Egyptian), the commissariat and pay of the garrison, the Government offices and officials, the relations existing between Jews and other inhabitants, the right of the colonists to hold real property, the customs relating to marriage, divorce and inheritance, the contributions to the temple expenses, the situation of the

[1] *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1912). See also his *Entstehung des Judentums* (Halle, 1896).

houses, the position of women, the attitude of the Egyptian priests, and other matters. The relative values of the money may be made out best from No. 15. It is always described as *k'saph*, "silver" (there is no mention of gold in this connexion), and it is reckoned by the "royal weight." The commonest denomination is the *shekel*. Ten shekels are a *karash* (or *karsha*, a Persian name), also called a "ten" (*'asarta*). The shekel itself is subdivided into quarters (*R* for *rib'a*), and each quarter into 10 *ḥallurin* (a Babylonian name), so that 40 ḥallurin make 1 shekel. The quality of the silver is sometimes described as "pure," but more often as "2 R to the 10," indicating an alloy of $\frac{1}{2}$ in every 10, *i. e.* 1 in 20, or 5 per cent. Rarely we find minæ and talents, but usually the transactions are not concerned with such large amounts. In the latest documents we have the Greek *stater* = 2 shekels.

The collection consists for the most part of business documents and letters or reports. There are, however, two texts of a literary character, namely, considerable fragments of the story of Aḥiḳar, and parts of a translation of the Behistun inscription. The facts about the former may best be studied in Conybeare, Rendel Harris and Lewis, *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1913), and in Charles's Apocrypha, ii, p. 715 (Oxford, 1913), by the same editors. The story was evidently very popular, for it exists in several versions, besides forming the basis of other stories. Recently it was recognised that Aḥiḳar was the same as the Achiacharus in Tobit 14 [10], who was Tobit's nephew (*ibid.*, 1 [22]). No early (*i. e.* pre-Christian) recension of the story was known, however, until the discovery of these papyri. Although the papyrus-text is not dated, there can be no doubt (judging from the appearance of the writing) that it belongs to the same period as the majority of the dated

documents, namely, the latter part of the fifth century B.C., say about 420. Therefore, if the Book of Tobit is to be dated about 230 B.C.,[1] there is no difficulty about the allusions to Aḥiḳar. It is also probable that the author of Tobit read the story in this (or a similar) Aramaic form, for we cannot suppose that it was confined to Elephantine.

The story, however, was not originally composed in 420 B.C., nor was Aramaic the original language of it, nor was it Jewish in origin, for there is no trace of Judaism in the papyrus-text. There is good reason to believe that it was first composed in the Babylonian language, about 550 B.C., was afterwards translated into Persian, and thence into Aramaic. Thus, since Aramaic was an international language, it became accessible to all the East.

In the later versions, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, which grew out of the original draft, the book is divided into four parts: (1) the introduction down to the adoption of Nadin; (2) the maxims by which he was educated; (3) the rest of the narrative, including Nadin's treachery, the restoration of Aḥiḳar and an episode in Egypt; (4) the maxims by which Nadin was punished. In the papyrus (of which only a part is preserved, and even that is much injured) the whole of the narrative seems to have preceded the whole of the maxims. The story is more simply and briefly told than in the later versions. It is continuous up to the point at which Nabusumiskun reports to the king that he has killed Aḥiḳar, then it breaks off, and we cannot say how much more of the story the papyrus originally contained. The maxims, no doubt, followed the end of the narrative, but they have very little in common with

[1] See Simpson's Introduction to the book, in Charles's *Apocrypha*, I, p. 185.

those of the later versions. Of special interest is their occasional resemblance to parts of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) and the biblical Proverbs. This is not due to direct borrowing on either side. They are part of that common stock of popular "wisdom" so abundant in the East, which was collected, revised and enlarged over and over again by successive authors of "wisdom literature," sometimes anonymously, sometimes under a traditional name. Thus we have the Proverbs of "Solomon," including the "words of Agur" (Prov. 30 [1]), and the "words of King Lemuel" (31 [1]). They might equally well have included some of the words of Aḥiḳar. The *story* was composed for the purpose of conveying a moral lesson—the punishment due to ingratitude—(as Tobit 14 [10] shows), just as the Books of Esther, Ruth, Judith and Tobit each inculcate a particular lesson, and the *proverbs* seem only occasionally to have any connexion with it. The latter are translated here as far as possible, but the point of some of them is quite lost, and some are too much broken to give any sense. They are much more difficult than the narrative.

The other literary piece is part of a translation of the great inscription of Behistun, famous as having formed the basis of the decipherment of cuneiform writing. The inscription was engraved about 510 B.C. to commemorate, in three languages, the means by which Darius Hystaspes consolidated his power. At the end of it, in an obscure passage, the king alludes to "inscriptions in another manner" which he "sent into all lands." This is generally taken to mean that copies of the great inscription were disseminated in the provinces. A fragment of such a copy, on stone, in cuneiform Babylonian, was recently found at Babylon.[1]

[1] Published by Weissbach, in *Wiss. Veröffentl. d. Deutschen Or. Gesellschaft*, 1903.

But for transmission abroad some more portable form was required, such as this papyrus. The version was no doubt made soon after 510 B.C., and is therefore the earliest specimen of a translation in any but cuneiform writing. This papyrus, however, cannot be the actual document issued by Darius Hystaspes. The writing is of about the same date as, *e. g.*, the Aḥiḳar fragments, say 430 B.C., and there are omissions in it which show clearly that it was copied from a text which had become worn out and partly illegible. Although it is so much broken that hardly a line is complete, there is enough to show that it is as a rule a close translation, following the Babylonian original (not the Persian), so that the gaps can usually be filled by merely translating the Babylonian text into Aramaic. In some places, however, the Aramaic must have diverged from the Babylonian. There are also among the smaller fragments some which evidently belonged to a duplicate copy or copies. Thus it seems that the official translation of the great inscription, which probably reached Elephantine a few years before 500 B.C., became worn out in course of time, and that these Jews had sufficient interest in it as history to make at least two copies of it, omitting what they could not read. If only Darius had thought good to engrave this Aramaic version, with the others, on the rock at Behistun, how much labour and time would have been saved in the decipherment of cuneiform! He might very well have done so (see above, p. x), but his advisors probably regarded Aramaic as the writing suitable for pen and ink, and not to be used for monumental purposes.

The original texts of the inscription may best be studied in King and Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great* (London, 1907).

In general, the value of these records for students of

early Christianity is parallel to that of the apocryphal books. They mark a stage in religious development. We have come gradually to recognise that the primitive Church had its roots in the Judaism of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. The character of Judaism at that date has been well illustrated by Box from Rabbinical sources and by Charles from the study of apocryphal literature. But it is also evident that religious development, whether you ascribe it to revelation or to the natural growth of the human mind, is a gradual process. The religion of Judæa in the time of Christ was not the same as that of the book of Judges. A thousand years had fashioned it in a thousand ways, and anything which throws light on the process is as instructive as it is interesting. Much has been done by the careful analysis of the Old Testament text, but hitherto the external evidence has been very slight. For this reason the present texts are of first-rate importance. At the present time the daily life of the practising Jew is one continuous religious exercise : there is a *dîn*, a religious rule, for every act. In the business documents of this collection, on the contrary, we see a people whose daily life appears to be wholly uninfluenced by religious considerations, and who seem to be quite unconscious of any religious past. In the Aḥiḳar story we have a sample of the literature they read. It may have been, and almost certainly was, of entirely foreign origin. There is nothing Jewish about it, and the proverbs are as different as can be from the high standard of collections like the Pirḳe Aboth. Yet such documents as No. 30 show that they held to one essential fact—the worship of Yahu—regarding the interruption of it as a national calamity. They may have been less spiritually minded than the main body of their contemporaries in Judæa, but it seems likely that they had remained at much the same

level as their forefathers of the sixth century B.C. There could have been no natural religious development among a people such as these colonists appear to be. Nothing short of an earthquake could make the dry bones live. It was in the shock of Ezra's reforms that modern Judaism was born, and the system of morality in which Christianity was afterwards planted. As the rabbis said, " the Law was forgotten, and Ezra restored it."

One other point. The existence of this colony, unsuspected fifteen years ago, shows that the Diaspora, or Dispersion of the Jews (1 Peter 1[1]), had already begun several centuries before the Christian era. Besides the colony at Elephantine, there was a settlement at Abydos, and no doubt others elsewhere. The use of Aramaic, which was common all over the East, came easily to the Jews abroad, and eventually became their natural language. (Though there are Hebraisms in these documents, there is not a single text composed in Hebrew.) Probably intercourse between the colonists and the mother-country helped to establish Aramaic in Judæa, as we find it in the time of Christ. But the important thing is that these outlying settlements, with their common language and common belief in a revived Judaism, were there as a field prepared for the scattered seed of Christianity. The records of this colony show us an earlier type of the communities so often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (2[5, 9-11]). They are therefore not merely of antiquarian interest. They reveal the rock whence we are hewn, and appeal to our human sympathy with the difficulties of a people seeking God in their darkness, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us.

* * * * *

In the following translations the numerous gaps have

been filled up as far as possible, in order to show the general sense. Otherwise several of the texts would at first sight appear meaningless. These restorations have been made with great care and after much thought, but the reader must be careful to distinguish them from the true text, and must not regard them as having any authority in themselves. Many of them are indeed certain, for reasons to be given in the larger edition; others rest only on my personal view as to the connexion of thought.

Restorations are printed in italics.

Where single letters are restored with certainty, they are often not indicated, to avoid too much complication.

Words inserted for clearness, owing to difference of idiom between the two languages, are put in parentheses (thus).

Proper names found in the Old Testament have been spelt as in the Revised Version, though this causes some inconsistencies.

Where the vocalisation of a name is unknown its consonants only are printed, in capitals.

When unknown words have to be reproduced sometimes to show the form of a sentence, the consonants are printed in small capitals.

The dates of the kings mentioned are added here for convenient reference :

Cambyses, 530–522.
Darius I, 522–486.
Xerxes, 486–465.
Artaxerxes I, 465–424.
Darius II, 424–404.
Artaxerxes II, 404–358.
Amyrtæus, the Egyptian, about 405–399.

ARAMAIC PAPYRI

No. 1.

Agreement, dated 494 B.C. (Sachau, p. 113.)

1 On the 2nd day of the month Epiphi of the 27th year of King Darius, said Sallua daughter of
2 Ḳoniah and Yethoma her sister to Yeha'or daughter of Shelomim, We have given to you half
3 the share which was granted to us by the king's judges and Ravaka the commander, in exchange for half the share which
4 accrued to you with Ne'ehebeth. Hereafter, on a future day, we shall not be able to sue you in the matter of this your share,
5 and say, We did not give it to you; nor shall a brother or sister (of ours), son or daughter, relative
6 or alien be able to sue you; and whoever shall sue you in the matter of this your share which we have given you, shall pay to you
7 the sum of 5 karash and the share remain yours.
8 Witnesses:
9 Hosea b. Hodaviah.
10 Shelomim b. Azariah.
11 Zephaniah b. Maki.

l. 1. Darius I, since Darius II did not reign so long. Year 27 is more probable than 17.

No. 2.

Contract for supplying Corn to the Garrison. 483 B.C. (Sachau, p. 99.)

1 On the 28th of the month Paophi in the 2nd year of King Xerxes *in the city of Yeb, said Hosea*
2 b. Hodaviah and Aḥiab b. Gemariah to Es*pemeṭ b. Peft'onith the sailor and* X . . . *son*
3 *of* Ḥanani, the carpenter, saying, You have delivered to us bar*ley* . . . . . .
4 8 (?) and beans, 11 ardabs to *44* (?) ardabs of barley . . . . . .
5 total barley and beans together 55 ardabs . . . . . .
6 . . . 11 men of the company of Betheltaḳem *every 5 ardabs for the ration of*
7 2 men, to each man 2 ardabs of barley and 2 G . . . *also 11 men*
8 *of* the company of Nabushalliv, 2 men to *5* ardabs of barley; *we have accepted it*
9 and our heart is content therewith. We will convey the corn . . . . . .
10 *to* these *tro*ops of the company of Betheltaḳem and of the c*ompany of Nabushalliv as*
11 written in this document. We will render an ac*count before the company commander and the authorities of*
12 Government House and before the clerks of the treasury (and) they shall *give out the corn which you have delivered*
13 to us to be conveyed to those men who are described *above; and if we do not deliver all that is*
14 yours in full at Government House and before the clerks of the t*reasury, as aforesaid*
15 we shall be liable to you in the sum of 100 karash, p*ure* (?) silver *as we swear by Yahu*

16 the God, and you have a right to our payment from Government House *and the brick house* (?) *and all that is*
17 ours you have a right to seize until you are indemnified in full for the corn *as aforesaid, and no suit shall lie.*
18 Written by Hosea at the dictation of Aḥiab.
19 Witnesses: Ki' b. Iskishu; Nushku-idri b. N . . .
20. Dukal b. Abijah; Shuri b. Kadu; Ata-idri b. . . .
21 Asradata b. Jonathan; Shabbethai b. Nabda.
22 (Endorsement.) *Deed which* Hosea and A*ḥiab* wrote for Esp*emeṭ.*

l. 1. Yeb is the Egyptian name of Elephantine.
l. 4. ardab, a corn-measure of about a bushel and a half.
l. 16. "the brick house" is supplied from No. 3. The precise meaning is uncertain.
The ends of the lines are lost.

No. 3.

A Duplicate of No. 2. (Sachau, p. 106.)

1 On the 28th of . . . . . .
2 b. Hodaviah and A*ḥiab* . . . . . .
3 pro*perty-holders in Elephantine* to Esp*emeṭ* . . . . .
4 to us barley . . . . . .
5 lentils, 20 ardabs . . . . . .
6 total *barley* and lentils . . . . . .
7 to 5 (?) men . . . . . .
8 lentils, 1 (?) ardab . . . . . .
9 this co*rn* Syene . . . . . .
10 in this deed and shall . . . . . .
11 the company, and the officers . . . . . .
12 the corn which you gave . . . . . .
13 in full *at Gov*ernment House . . . . . .
14 which you delivered to us . . . . . .

15 which does not belong to . . . . . .
16 treas*ury* . . . . . .
17 the god, silver . . . . . .
18 and the brick-house (?) and . . . . . .
19 mine (?) *and you have a r*ight to *seize* . . . . . .
20 as aforesaid, and . . . . . .
21 Written by Hosea at the hands (?) of A*ḥiab.*
22 Witnesses: Shuri b. *Kadu* . . . . . .
23 Nushku-idri b. Nabn*itu* . . . . . .
24 Bagada*ta b.* ISMSHD . . .

Only the beginnings of the lines remain. They are not restored, in order to show better the connexion with No. 2.

No. 4.

A small Fragment, apparently connected with Nos. 2 and 3. (Sachau, p. 136.)

1 . . . . . they made for me . . . . . .
2 . . . . . s, and also for . . . . . .
3 . . . . . he prepared, also . . . . . .
4 . . . . . what you wish with it . . . . . .
5 . . . . . we have found barley . . . . . .
6 . . . . . here. Now . . . . . .
7 . . . . . Espemeṭ . . . . . .
8 . . . . . since we . . . . . .

No. 5.

Grant of Building Rights. 471 B.C.
(Sayce and Cowley, A.)

1 On the 18th of Elul, that is the 28th day of Paḥons, year 15 of King Xerxes, said
2 Ḳoniah b. Zadok, an Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, to Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, an Aramæan of Syene,

3 of the detachment of Warizath, saying : I came to
you and you have given to me the gateway of
your house to build
4 1 portico (?) there. This portico is yours. It adjoins
my house at its upper corner.
5 This portico shall adjoin the side of my house from
the ground upwards, from the corner of my house
at the upper end to the house of Zechariah.
6 To-morrow or on any later day I have no power to
restrain you from building above (*or* upon) this
portico of yours.
7 If I restrain you, I will pay you the sum of 5 karash,
royal weight, pure silver, and the portico is yours
8 assuredly. If Ḳoniah dies to-morrow or on a later
day no son or daughter, brother or sister,
9 relative or stranger, soldier or citizen, shall have
power to restrain Maḥseh or his son from building
above
10 this portico of his. Whoever restrains one of them
shall pay him the sum aforesaid, and the portico
11 is yours assuredly, and you have the right to build
above it upwards, and I Ḳoniah have no power
12 to speak to Maḥseh saying : This gateway is not yours,
and you shall not go out (by it) into the street which
13 is between us and the house of Peft'onith, the
boatman. If I restrain you, I will pay you the
sum aforesaid.
14 And you have the right to open this gate and go
out into the street which is between us.
15 Pelatiah b. Ahio wrote this document at the dictation
of Ḳoniah. Witnesses thereto :
16 Witness Maḥseh b. Isaiah. Witness Satibarzanes b.
Mithrili.
17. Witness Shemaiah b. Hosea. Witness Phrata-
phernes b. Artaphernes.

18 Witness Bagadata b. Nabukudurri. Nabu-ili b. Darga.
19 Witness Bentirash b. Raḥamrea' (?). Witness Shallum b. Hoshaiah.

20 (Endorsement.) Deed (relating to) the portico which he built, which Ḳoniah wrote for Maḥseh.

l. 4. "portico": the meaning is uncertain. A covered way? The upper corner is on the south. So perhaps in l. 11?
l. 16. "Mithrili," or perhaps Atharili.

No. 6.

Conveyance. 465 B.C. (Sayce and Cowley, B.)

1 On the 18th of Chisleu, that is the 7th day of Thoth, in year 21, the beginning of the reign when
2 King Artaxerxes sat on his throne, said Dargman b. Ḥarshin the Khorasmian, whose station
3 is fixed in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Artabanu, to Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, a Jew who (lives) in the fortress of Yeb,
4 of the detachment of Warizath, saying: You have *sworn* to me by the God Yahu in Yeb the fortress, you and your wife
5 and your son, three in all, about my land in regard to which I lodged a complaint against you before
6 Damidata and his colleagues the judges, and they imposed upon you an oath to me, to swear by Yahu in regard to this land,
7 that it was no longer the land of Dargman, mine, that is (belonging to) me. Now these are the boundaries of this land
8 in regard to which you swore to me: My house, of me Dargman, is to the East of *it*, and the house of Ḳoniah b. Zadok,

9 Jew, of the detachment of Athroparan, to the West of it, and the house of *Jezaniah* b. Uriah,
10 Jew, of the detachment of Warizath, at the lower end of it, and the house of Espemet b. Peft'onith,
11 boatman of the cataract, at the upper end of it. You have sworn to me by Yahu, and have satisfied
12 my mind about this land. I shall have no power to institute suit or process against you, I and my son and my daughter,
12*a* brother and sister of mine, relative and stranger,
13 concerning this land, (against) you and your son and your daughter, brother and sister of yours, relative and stranger.
14 Whoever sues you in my name concerning this land, shall pay you the sum of 20 (twenty) karash royal standard,
15 at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and the land is assuredly yours, and you are quit of
16 all claim that they may bring against you in regard to this land. Ethan b. Aba wrote this deed
17 in Syene the fortress, at the dictation of Dargman. Witness, Hosea b. Petekhmum. Witness,
18 Gadol b. Yigdal. Witness, Gemariah b. Ahio. Meshullam b. Hosea.
19 Sinkasid b. Nabusumiskun. Witness, Hadadnuri the Babylonian.
20 Witness, Gedaliah b. Ananiah.
21 Witness, Aryisha b. Arusathmar.

22 (Endorsement.) Deed of renunciation written by *Dargman* b. Harshin for Mahseiah.

l. 12*a* is written between the lines.
l. 22. The space is where the deed was tied and sealed.

No. 7.

A Case of Burglary. 461 B.C. (Sachau, p. 103.)

1 On the 18th of Paophi, in the 4th year of Artaxerxes
the king, in Yeb
2 the fortress, said Malchiah b. Joshibiah, Aramæan,
holding property in Yeb
3 the fo*rtress, of the detach*ment of Nabukudur*ri, to*
*Phra*taphernes *b. Artaph*ernes of the detachme*nt*
4 of Nabu*kudurri, sa*ying : You decl*ared to me* (or
concerning me) in Nepha *that you entere*d *my house*
5 by force, and struck my wife, and removed goods
from my house by force,
6 and took them for *your*self. I have made a petition
and the appeal to the gods
7 has been laid upon me by the court, on me Malchiah,
that I should challenge you by Ḥerembethel
8 the god, before 4 *jud*ges (?), thus : " I did *not* enter
your house by force,
9 and did not strike *your* wife, and did not take goods
from your house by fo*r*ce."
10 And if *I* challenge you before these *jud*ges (?) *I am*
*entit*led also to chal*lenge* . . . (the rest is lost).

l. 1. Probably Artaxerxes I. If it is Artaxerxes II the date will be 400 B.C.
l. 4. " Nepha " seems to be a place-name. Cf. 20 [4].

No. 8.

Conveyance. 459 B.C. (Sayce and Cowley, D.)

1 On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st day of Mesore,
the 6th year of Artaxerxes, the king, said Mahseiah
2 b. Yedoniah, a Jew holding property in Yeb the
fortress, of the detachment of Haumadata, to
Mibṭaḥiah, spinster (?),

3 his daughter, as follows : I give to you for my life-
time and after my death a house and land of mine.
4 Its measurement is : its length from the lower to
the upper end 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth;
width from East
5 to West 11 cubits by the measuring-rod; its bound-
aries, at the upper end of it the house of Dargman
b. Ḥarshin
6 adjoins it; at the lower end of it the house of
Ḳoniah b. Zadok; East of it the house of Yezan b.
7 Uriah, your husband, and the house of Zechariah
b. Nathan; West of it the house of Espemet b.
Peft'onith
8 boatman of the cataract. This house and land I
give to you for my life-time and after my death;
9 you have full rights over it from this day for ever,
and your children after you. To whom
10 you wish you may give it. There is no other son
or daughter of mine, brother or sister, or other
11 woman or man who has rights over this land, except
you and your children for ever. Whoever
12 shall institute against you suit or process, against
you or son or daughter of yours or anyone belong-
ing to you on account of this land
13 which I give to you, and shall appeal against you
to governour or judge, shall pay to you or to
your children
14 the sum of 10 (that is, ten) kerashin, royal weight,
at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process
(shall lie),
15 and the house is your house assuredly and your
children's after you; and they shall have no power
to produce against you
16 any deed new or old in my name concerning this
land to give it to anyone else. Any deed

17 which they produce against you will be forged. I
shall not have written it and it shall not be accepted
by the court
18 while this deed is in your hand. And further, I,
Mahseiah will not to-morrow or on any other day
take it away
19 from you to give it to others. This land is yours.
Build (on it) or give it to whom you will.
20 If to-morrow or on any other day I institute against
you suit or process, and say I did not give it to
you,
21 I will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, royal weight,
at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit
22 or process (shall lie), but the house is your house
assuredly, and (if) I go into court I shall not win
my case while this deed is in your hand.
23 There is also a deed of renunciation which Dargman
b. Ḥarshin the Khorazmian wrote for me concerning
24 this land, when he laid claim to it before the judges
and I took an oath to him and swore to him
25 that it was mine, and he wrote and gave me a deed
of renunciation. This deed I give to you.
26 You are to take charge of it. If to-morrow or
another day Dargman or his son should lay claim
27 to this house, produce this deed and in accordance
with it contest the case with him. ʿAtharshuri
28 b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress
at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses hereto :
29 witness, Gemariah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah
b. Nathan.
30 Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b.
Meshullam. Witness, Maʿuziah b.
31 Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah. Wit-
ness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah.
32 Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Zaccur b. Zephaniah.

33 Witness, Hosea b. Re'uiah. Witness, Maḥseh b.
Isaiah.
34 Witness, Hosea b. Yigdal.
(Endorsement :)
35 Deed of a house *which* Maḥseh b. Yedon*iah gave*
36 to Mibṭaḥ daughter of Maḥseh.

l. 23. The deed is No. 6.
ll. 33, 35, 36. Maḥseh is a shortened form of Mahseiah (as Mibṭaḥ is of Mibṭaḥiah) with the divine name *-iah* omitted.

No. 9.

Deed relating to the Reversion of the Property in No. 8. 459 B.C. (Sayce and Cowley, C.)

1 On the *21st* of *Chisleu, that is the 1st* of *Mesore*, the
6th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah
2 b. Yedoniah *Jew, of* Yeb, of the detachment of
Haumadata, to Jezaniah b. Uriah, of the same
detachment
3 as follows : There is the land of 1 house belonging
to me, west of your house, which I have given to
Mibṭaḥiah
4 my daughter, your wife, and I have written for her
a deed concerning it. The measurement of this
house is 13 cubits and a hand-breadth
5 by 11, by the measuring-rod. Now I, Mahseiah, say
to you, lay out this land and rear cattle on it (?),
6 and dwell on it with your wife, but you have no
power to sell this house, or to give it
7 as a present to others; but your children by
Mibṭaḥiah my daughter have power over it
8 after you. If to-morrow or another day you lay
out this land and then my daughter divorces you
9 and goes away from you, she has no power to take
it or give it to others, but your children by

10 Mibṭaḥiah have power over it in return for the work which you have done. If you put her away
11 from you, half the house *shall be* hers to take, and as to the oth*er* half you have power over it in return for
12 the development which you have made in this house. And again as to that half, your children by Mibṭaḥiah
13 have power over it after you. If to-morrow or another day I should institute suit or process against you
14 and say I did not give you this land to develop, and did not draw up this deed for you, I
15 will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin by royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie).
16 ʿAtharshuri b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses
17 hereto :
Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b. Nathan.
18 Witness, Gemariah *b.* Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah b. Meshullam.
19 Witness, Maʿuziah b. Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah.
20 Witness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Witness, Zaccur b. Zephaniah.
21 Witness, Hosea *b.* Reʿuiah. Witness, Maḥseh b. Isaiah.
22 Witness, Ho*sea b. Yigda*l.

The deed was evidently drawn up at the same time as No. 8, since the scribe and witnesses are the same in both.

l. 5. "rear cattle" is uncertain. The land is distinguished from the house.

No. 10.

Contract for a Loan. 456 B.C. (Sachau, p. 108.)

1 On the 7th of Chisleu, that is the 4th day of the
month Thoth, the 9th year of Artaxerxes
2 the king, said Yehoḥan daughter of Meshullak,
spinster (?), of Yeb the fortress, to Meshullam b.
3 Zaccur, Jew, of Yeb the fortress, as follows: You
have given to me as a loan the sum of 4
shekels,
4 that is four, by royal weight, at interest, which shall
be due from me
5 at the rate of 2 ḥallurin per shekel per month, being
at the rate of 8 ḥallurin
6 for each month. If the interest is added to the
capital, it shall pay interest like the capital,
7 both alike, and if there come a second year and I
have not paid you your money
8 and interest on it as written in this deed, you,
Meshullam, and your children have the right
9 to take for yourself any security which you may
find of mine in the brick-house, whether silver or
gold,
10 bronze or iron, male or female slave, barley, spelt
or any food that you may find of mine,
11 till you have full payment of your money and
interest thereon, and I shall have no power to
say to you that I have paid you
12 your money and the interest on it while this deed
is in your hand, nor shall I have power to lodge
a complaint
13 against you before governour or judge on the ground
that you have taken from me any security while
this deed

14 is in your hand. If I die without paying you this
money and interest thereon,
15 my children are to pay you this money and interest
thereon. If
16 they do not pay you this money and interest thereon,
you Meshullam have a right
17 to take for yourself any food or security that you
may find of theirs until you have full payment
18 of your money and interest thereon, and they shall
have no power to lodge a complaint against you
before governour
19 or judge while this deed is in your hand. Even
if they go to law they shall not win their
case
20 while this deed is in your hand. Nathan b. ʿAnani
wrote this deed
21 at the dictation of Yehoḥan. Witnesses hereto :
Witness, Oshea‘ b. Gilgal.
22 Hodaviah b. Gedaliah. Ahio b. Pelaṭiah. Agur b.
Ahio.
(Endorsement :)
23 Deed of money lent (?), which Yehoḥan daughter of
Meshullak wrote
24 for Meshullam b. Zacc*ur*.

Cf. No. 11.

l. 6. " added to the capital," *i. e.* because it is not paid.

No. 11.

Contract for a Loan. About 455 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, L.)

. . . . . .

1 *Said X b. Y to Z* b. Yathma *as follows :* You have
given me the sum of

2 *4 shekels by the weight* of Ptaḥ, at the rate of 1 shekel
to 10, and interest shall be due from me at the
rate of 2 ḥallurin
3 for the sum of 1 shekel per month, till the day
when I repay it to *you*, so that the interest on
4 your money shall be *8* ḥallurin each month. Any
month in which I do not give you
5 interest, it shall be (added to the) capital and shall
bear interest. I will pay it to you month by
month
6 out of my salary which they give me from the
treasury, and you shall write me a receipt for
all
7 money and interest which I pay to you. If I do
not pay you all
8 your money and the interest thereon by the month
of Thoth in the 9th year, your money shall be
doubled (?)
9 and the interest on it which is outstanding against
me, and interest shall be due from me month by
month
10 until the day when I repay it to you. Witnesses:
11 ʿUḳban b. Shemesh-nuri.
12 Ḳoẓri b. Yeha-dari.
13 Mahseiah b. Yedoniah.
14 Malchiah b. Zechariah.
15 Gemariah b. Ahio wrote the deed before the witnesses
who(se names) are upon this deed.

The beginning is lost, with the date.

l 2. " the weight of Ptaḥ " is the native Egyptian standard, not the royal weight, as usually. This indicates a time of revolt against the Persians, *i. e.* either about 455 or 400. The names require the earlier date, as some of them occur in other deeds about that time.

l. 8. " doubled," or perhaps " counted as one sum," capital and interest together.

l. 13. Yeha-dari or Yah-hadari, an unusual name.

No. 12.

List of names, undated. (Sachau, p. 71.)

1 Haggai b. Nathan.
2 Ḥarman b. Oshea'.
3 Oshea' b. Yathom.
4 Oshea' b. Hodav.
5 Shamua' b. Haggai.
6 Nathan b. Neraiah.
7 Menahem b. Posai.
8 Yeosh b. Azaniah.
9 Bethel'aḳab b. Achar.
10. Total 9 men.
11 Nabu'aḳab (?) b.

A similar list is No. 19. The purpose of these lists is not evident. The names suggest a date about 450 B.C.
l. 11 is written upside down. The name occurs in No. 26[23, 28].

No. 13.

Conveyance of a House. 447 B.C.
(Sayce and Cowley, E.)

1 On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, year 19 of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah b.
2 Yedoniah, Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, to Miphṭaḥiah his daughter as follows: I give you the house
3 which Meshullam b. Zaccur b. Atar, Aramæan of Syene, gave me for its price, and wrote a document for me about it,
4 and I give it to Miphṭaḥiah my daughter in return for the goods which she gave me when I was inspector (?) in the fortress. I borrowed (?)

5 them and did not find money and goods to pay you. Consequently I give you this house
6 in return for those your goods of the value of 5 kerashin, and I give you the original document which
7 the said Meshullam *wrote* for me about it. This house I give to you and I resign all claim to it. It belongs to you and to your children
8 after you and to *whomsoever you plea*se you may give it. I have no power, I or my children or my descendants or any
9 other man, to bring against you suit or process in the matter of this house which I give you, and have written the document for you
10 about it. Whoever raises against you suit or process, (whether it be) I or a brother or sister, relative or strang*er, sol*dier or citizen,
11 shall pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, and the house is assuredly yours. Moreover no other man shall produce against you a document
12 new or old, other than this document which I have written and given to *you: whoe*ver produces against you such document, I have not wr*itten it.*
13 Moreover note, these are the boundaries of this house: At the upper end of it is the house of Yeo*sh b. Pe*nuliah, at the lower end of it is
14 the temple of the God Yahu, at the east of it is the house of Gadol b. Oshea' and the street between them,
15 on the west of it is the *lan*d of . . . . b. Palṭo, priest of the gods Khn*um and Sa*ti (?). This house
16 I give you and resign all claim to it. It is yours for ever. To whom*soever* you wish, give it.

17 Nathan b. Ananiah wrote this document at the direction of Mahseiah and the witnesses hereto. Mahseiah signed for
18 himself (?).
Mithrasari (?) b. Mithrasari (?), and *Satibarzanes* b. Atharili, silversmith.
19 Witness, Barbari b. Dargi, silversmith of the place (?).
Witness, ... b. Shemaiah.
20 Zaccur b. Shallum.
(Endorsement :)
21 Document concerning Mahseiah b. Yedoniah *and Miphṭaḥi*ah his daughter.

l. 4. " inspector " is uncertain. " I borrowed " : others take this as a name.
l. 14. This is the first mention of the temple. See further No. 30.
l. 18. " for himself," etc. : the writing is hasty and not very legible. Atharili, or perhaps Mithrili : cf. No. 5 [16].
l. 19. " of the place " is strange. It may be a name " of Athra."

No. 14.

Settlement of Claim. 441 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, F.)

1 On the 14th of Ab, that is the 19th day of Paḥons, year 25 of Artaxerxes the king, said Pi
2 b. Paḥi, builder, of Syene the fortress, to Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah
3 Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath (as follows) : In accordance with the action which we took at Syene, let us make a division concerning the money
4 and corn and garments and bronze and iron, all goods and possessions, and the marriage-document. Then an oath

5 was imposed on you and you swore to me concerning
them by the goddess Sati and my heart was content
6 with that oath which you took to me concerning those
your goods and I renounce all claim on you from
7 this day for ever. I have no power to institute
against you suit or process, you or son
8 or daughter of yours in the matter of those your
goods concerning which you have sworn to me.
If I institute against you
9 suit or process, or my son or daughter sue you in
the matter of that your oath, I, Pi, or my son
10 will pay to Mibṭaḥiah the sum of 5 kerashin, royal
weight, without suit or process,
11 and I renounce all suit and process.
12 Peṭisi b. Nabunathan wrote this document
in Syene the fortress, at the direction of Pi b. Paḥi.
Witnesses hereto : Nabure'i b. Nabunathan.
13 Luḥi b. Mannuki. 'Odnahar b. Duma. Nabure'i b.
Vashtan.
(Endorsement :)
14 Deed of quittance which Pi wrote for Mibṭ*aḥiah*.

Probably a settlement on the dissolution of Mibṭaḥiah's marriage with Pi, who would have been her second husband. This seems to be indicated by his giving up the marriage-deed in l. 4.

l. 5. She swore by the Egyptian goddess, because Pi was an Egyptian. None of the witnesses have Jewish names. Perhaps she was not recognised by the community as long as she was married to an Egyptian.

l. 14. " quittance " may be a term for divorce.

No. 15.

Marriage Contract. About 441 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, G.)

1 On the 25th (?) of Tishri *that is* the 6th *day* of the
month Epiph*i year . . . of Artaxerx*es the king,

said Ashor b. *Ẓeho*, builder to the king, to Mahs*eiah*, *A*ramæan of Syene, of the detachment of
Warizath, as follows: I came to your house that you might give me your daughter Miphṭaḥiah in marriage.
She is my wife and I her husband from this day for ever. I have given you as the price
of your daughter Miphṭaḥiah *the sum* of 5 shekels, royal weight. It has been received by you and your heart is content
therewith. You have delivered to your d*aughter* Miphṭaḥiah into her hand for the cos*t of* furniture 1 karash 2 shekels royal
weight, of the standard of 2 R to 10. You have delivered to her into her hand 1 woollen robe, new, striped,
dyed on both sides, (whose) length was 8 cubits by 5, *w*orth the sum of 2 kerashin 8 shekels,
royal weight; 1 closely-woven (shawl) new, (whose) length was 8 cubits by 5, worth
the sum of 8 shekels royal weight; another woollen robe, finely woven, (whose) length was
6 cubits by 4, worth the sum of 7 shekels; 1 mirror of bronze, worth
the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 1 tray of bronze, worth the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 2 cups of bronze,
worth the sum of 2 shekels; 1 bowl of bronze, worth the sum of 2 R; total money
and value of goods being the sum of 6 kerashin 5 shekels 20 ḥallurin, of the standard of 2 R to 10, royal weight.
I have received, and my heart is *con*tent therewith, 1 couch of reeds with 4 supports (?)
of stone; 1 PK of SLK; 2 ladles, holding (?) 8 Ḥ; 1 MŠ'N knife (?); 1 cosmetic box of ivory new.

17 To-morrow or a*noth*er day (if) Ashor should die and
there is no child male or female
18 belonging to him by Mi*phtah*iah his wife, Miphtahiah
has a right to the house
19 of Ashor, *his* goods and his chattels and all that he
has on the face of the earth,
20 all of it. To-morrow or (another) day (if) Miphtahiah
should die and there is no child male or female
21 belonging to her by Ashor her husband, Ashor shall
inherit her goods
22 and her chattels. To-morrow *or* another day (if)
*Miph*tahiah should stand up in the congregation
23 and say, I divorce Ashor my husband, the price of
divorce (shall be) on her head; she shall return to
24 the scales and weigh out to *A*shor the sum of 7
shekels 2 R and all that she has taken
25 into her hand she shall give up, both shred (?) and
thread, and she shall go away whither she will,
without
25 suit or process. To-morrow or another day (if)
Ashor should stand up in the congregation
27 and say, I divorce my *wi*fe Miphtahiah, her price
shall be forfeited, but all that she received
28 into her hand, she shall give up, both shred (?)
and thread, on one day at one time, and she
shall go
29 away whither she will, without suit or process. But
if he should rise up against Miphtahiah
30 to drive her out from his, Ashor's, house and his
goods and chattels, he shall give her
31 the sum of 20 kerashin, and the provisions of this
deed shall be an*nulled*, as far as she is concerned.
And I shall have no right to say
32 I have another wife besides Miphtahiah and other
children than the children whom

33 Miphṭaḥiah shall bear to me. If I say I have children and wife other than
34 Miphṭaḥiah and her children, I will pay to Miphṭaḥiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight,
35 and I shall have no right to *take* away my goods and chattels from Miphṭaḥiah; and if I remove them
36 from her [erasure] I will pay to Miphṭaḥiah the *sum of* 20 kerashin, royal weight.
37 Nathan b. Ananiah wrote *this deed at the direction of Ashor* and the witnesses hereto:
38 Penuliah b. Jezaniah: . . . iah b. Uriah: Menahem b. *Za*ccur:
39 Witness, Re'ibel (?) b. . . .

The number of the year is lost, but since the two sons by this marriage were old enough to be parties to a case in 421, they must have been born somewhere about 440 B.C., and the date of the contract must be as given above.

This was Mibṭaḥiah's third marriage, if we are right about the meaning of No. 14.

ll. 6, 7. "You have delivered" is probably the meaning, but the first person ("I have") would have the same form.

ll. 15. 16. The meaning of some of the words in this list is unknown.

l. 16. "8 Ḥ," probably a measure here, not ḥallurin.

l. 23. "on her head," etc.: the translation is uncertain, though the general meaning is clear.

No. 16.

An Appeal to a Higher Court. About 435 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 41.)

1 . . . . . *to* Arsames (?) *and to Mega*phernes b. *WŠḤI* . . . .
2 *this fi*eld our *detach*ment owned from the 24th year *to* the 31st *y*ear of *Artaxerxes* . . .
3 *also* I was examined *befo*re TR*WḤ and* the court, and I stated before the court . . . .

4 the *field* I ploughed but the *produce* I did *not* receive from them. These judges . . . .

5 . . . and a wrong was done to me, and I stated before TRWḤ and the court . . . .

6 . . . from the year 24 to the year 31, and Megaphernes and Nephayan and Mannuki, the 3 judges, went up to Syene and to*ok with them* (?) . . . .

7 . . . the assessors (?) of Nephayan, commander of the garrison of Syene, and the judges of the province, how . . . .

8 I (?) before my lord have sent saying "A wrong was done to me," and *now* . . . .

9 ask TRWḤ and the court abo*ut* this, (and) let wrong not be done to me, and . . . .

l. 3. "TRWḤ," probably a name.
l. 7. Nephayan was commander in No. 30 (408 B.C.). If the date here is right, he must be a different person.

No. 17.

Relating to Supplies for the Garrison (?). 428 B.C. (Sachau, p. 34.)

1 *To our lord Arsa*mes, your servants Achæmenes (?) and his colleagues, Bigdan (?) and his colleagues, and the notaries of the province; the welfare of our lord may the gods *seek*

2 *abundantly at* all times. And now you have paid us for all the contribution assuredly which we gave in the province at (?) the place which is . . .

3 . . . plainly set forth, each item month by month they were sending to me. Also a written document was given to us. Now . . .

4 . . . . . and we will . . .

5 . . . . . our lord Arsames . . . . . your *ser-van*ts Achæmenes (?) and his colleagues the recorders in . . . .

6 . . . . . which we pay. Ḥaruẓ and his colleagues the notaries of *the* province, all 3 vilains (?),

7 . . . the servant (?) of SYN'BŠ the recorder, their colleague, in the 19th of Marḥeshwan in the 37th year of Artaxerx*es*, to them.

l. 6 "all 3 vilains" is added below the line. The word occurs in No. 30 [7], etc., but its meaning is uncertain.

No. 18.

End of a Marriage Contract. About 425 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 126.)

1 . . . . . *Meshu*llak b. *U*ri a deed of divorce. And Yehoḥan daughter of *Meshullak* shall have no *right to say to him*

2 and to Sallua her daughter, As I gave these goods and the money which are set forth in this deed, as a free gift to you, now I desire

3 to take them away. If she says so, she is liable, no heed shall be paid to her. Ma'uziah b. Nathan b. Ananiah wrote

4 this deed at the direction of Hoshaiah *and* Yehoḥan and the witnesses hereto. Witness, Ḥeremnathan b. Bethelnathan b. Ẓeḥo;

5 Witness, Haggai b. Penuliah; witness, Yeosh b. *A*zaniah; witness, Bethelnathan b. Jonathan.

l. 4. Note the names Ḥeremnathan and Bethelnathan formed with Ḥerem and Bethel, as Jonathan is formed with Yahu. Zeḥo is an Egyptian name, as in No. 15.

No. 19.

List of Names. About 420 B.C. (Sachau, p. 92.)

1 . . . . . .
2 Ba'adiah b. A . . . .
3 Oshea' b. U*riah* (?).
4 WKYN b. Shallum b. . . .
5 Meshullam b. Shemaiah.
6 Shemaiah b. Shallum.
7 Menahem b. Meshull*am*.
8 Haggai b. Jezaniah.
9 Agiri b. Ash . . .
10 Nathan b. Hodaviah.

No. 20.

Settlement of a Claim. 420 B.C.
(Sayce and Cowley, H.)

1 In the month of Elul, that is Pa*yni*, 4th year of Darius the king at that time in Yeb the fortress, said
2 Menahem and Ananiah bo*th sons of* Meshullam b. Shelomem, Jews of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Iddinnabu,
3 to Yedoniah and Mahseiah, both sons of Ashor b. Zeho by Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah, Jews
4 of the same detachment, as follows: *We* sued you in the court of NPA before Damandin the governour (and) Widrang
5 the commander of the garrison, saying: There *are* goods, garments of wool and cotton, vessels of bronze and iron, vessels of wood
6 and ivory, corn, etc., and we pleaded saying: Ashor your father received (these) from Shelomem b. Azariah, and also

7 said "They are on deposit." They were deposited, but he kept possession and did not return (them) to him, and therefore we sue you.
8 Then you were examined, and you Yedoniah and Mahseiah, sons of Ashor, satisfied us concerning these goods,
9 and we were satisfied therewith. From this *day* for ever I Menahem and Ananiah, we renounce all claim on you.
10 From this day for ever we shall have no power, and our sons and our daughters and our brothers and any man related to us or a freeman of
11 the city shall have no power to bring *against you*, Yedoniah and Mahseiah, suit or process, nor shall they have the power to sue your sons
12 or your brothers or any one of yours *on account* of goods and money, corn, etc., belonging to Shelomem b. Azariah. If we
13 or our sons or our daughters or anyone of *ours*, or the sons of Shelomem b. Azariah, sue you or sue your sons or your daughters
14 or any one of yours, or whomsoever they shall sue about it, he shall pay you or your sons, or whomsoever they sue, a fine
15 of the sum of ten kerashin, royal *weight*, at the rate of 2 R to 1 karash, and he assuredly has no claim on these goods
16 about which we sued, and no suit or *process* (can lie). Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote this deed at the direction of Menahem and Ananiah both
17 sons of Meshullam b. Shelomem. Witness, *Me*nahem b. Gadol.
Gadol b. Berechiah.
Menahem b. Azariah.

18 Witness, Hodaviah b. Zaccur *b.* Oshaiah.
(Endorsement :)
19 Deed which Menahem and Ananiah bo*th* sons of
Menahem b. Shelomem wrote
*for Yedoni*ah and Mahseiah both sons of Ashor b.
Zeho.

l. 4. "NPA": as in 7^4? The precise sense of the following words is uncertain.
l. 19. Menahem is a mistake for Meshullam.

No. 21.

Order to keep the (Passover and) Feast of Unleavened Bread. 419 B.C. (Sachau, p. 36.)

1 *To my brethr*en,
2 *Yedo*niah and his colleagues the Jewish gar*rison*, your brother Hanan*iah*. The welfare of my brethren may the gods *seek*.
3 Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsa*mes, saying :*
4 *In the month of Tybi* (?) *let there be a Passover for the Jew*ish *garrison*. Now you accordingly count fo*urteen*
5 *Days of the month Nisan and ke*ep *the Passover*, and from the 15th day to the 21st day of *Nisan*
6 (*Are*) *seven days of Unleavened bread*. Be clean and take heed. *Do no* work
7 *On the 15th day and on the 21st day. Also* drink no *beer*, and anything at all *in* which *there is* leaven
8 *Do not eat, from the 15th day from* sunset till the 21st day of Nis*an, seven*
9 *Days, let it not be seen among you ; do not bri*ng (it) into your dwellings, but seal (it) up during *those* days.

10 *Let this be done as Darius* the k*ing commanded.*
(Address :)
11 To my brethren Yedoniah and his colleagues the Jewish garrison, your brother Hanani*ah.*

l. 2. The envoy Hananiah was a person of high position.
l. 7. "beer," because it was fermented, therefore of the nature of leaven. Wine was required for the Passover.
l. 9. "seal it up": *i. e.* put it away under lock and key.

No. 22.

Names of Contributors to Temple Funds, in Seven Columns. 419 B.C. (Sachau, p. 73.)

1 On the 3rd of Phamenoth, 5th year. This is (a list of) the names of the Jewish garrison who gave money for Yahu the God, man by man the sum of 2 *shekels:*
2—Meshu*llemeth* da*ughter* of Gemari*ah* b. Mahseiah, the sum of 2 sh.
3—Zaccur *b. Hodavi*ah b. Zaccur, the sum of 2 sh.
4—Serai*ah daughter* of Hoshea b. Ḥarman, the sum of 2 sh.
5—All 3 . . . .
6—Hosh*ea b. Beth*elnuri, he (gave (?)) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
7—Hoshai*ah b. Nathan* b. Hoshaiah b. Hanani*ah the sum of 2 sh. for himself* (?).
8—Nabu . . . . *b.* . . . . ah, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
9 . . . . . nani *b.* KTL, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
10 . . . . . b. Yeho . . . . *the sum of* 2 sh. for himself (?).
11 . . . . . b. Ne*hebeth daughter of Mah*seh, *the sum of 2 sh.* for himself (?).

12 Nathan b. Anani b. . . . . .
13 . . . . . i *da*ughter of Zebadi*ah* . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . *da*ughter of Pelul*iah* . . . .
16 . . . . . daughter of . . . . .
17 . . . . . i b. . . . . .
18 . . . . . daughter of . . . . .
19 *All of* the company of Siniddin.
20 The company of Nabu'aḳab :—Shallum b. Menahe*m* . . . .

Col. ii.

21—Meshullam b. Samuaḥ, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
22—Palṭi b. Michah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
23—Malchiah b. Yathom b. Hadadnuri, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
24, 20—Shelemiah b. Jashub, sum of *2* sh. *for* himself (?).
25—Gadol b. Meshullam b. Mibṭaḥi*ah*, *sum of* 2 sh. for himself (?).
26—Menahem b. Haẓul, that (is) the son of Shema*iah*, *sum of 2 sh. for himself* (?).
27—Simak b. Meshullam, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
28—Gadol b. Samuaḥ, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
29—Meshullam b. Haggai b. Haẓul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
30—Haẓul b. Haggai b. Haẓul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).
31 All of *the company of* . . . . . u.
32 . . . . . 2 sh.
33 . . . . . sum of 2 sh.
34 . . . . . .
35 . . . . . .
36 . . . . . .

37 . . . . . sum of 2 sh.
38 . . . . . .

Col. iii.

39—Shillem b. Hodav *sum of 2 sh.*
40—Ḥori b. VNH *sum of 2 sh.*
41—Shamua' b. Shillem *sum of 2 sh.*
42—Mattan b. Yedon*iah, sum of 2 sh.*
43—U*riah b. . . . . ., sum of 2 sh.*
44—Anan*i b.* . . . . .
45—Zac 2
46—Anani . . . . . .
47—Hosh*ea* b. Nathun *sum of 2 sh.*
48, 20—. . . . . b. 2
49 . . . . . b. N . . . . . 2 sh.
50 . . . . . 2 *sh.*
51 . . . . b . . . . b. Joshibiah . . . .
52 . . . . . 2 sh.
53 . . . . . 2 *sh.*
54 . . . . . .
55 . . . . . 2 *sh.*
56 . . . . . Hoshea, sum of 2 sh.
57 . . . . . Yehoṭal, sum of *2 sh.*
58 . . . . . *A*nani, sum of 2 sh.
59 . . . . . Joshibiah . . .
60 . . . . . .

Col. iv.

61—Hoshea b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh.
62—Menahem b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh.
63—Nathun b. Haggai, sum of 2 sh.
64—Haggai b. Micha, sum of 2 sh.
65—Maḥseh b. Uri, sum of 2 sh.
66—Shallum b. Zecharia, sum of 2 sh.
67—Menahem b. Zecharia, sum of 2 sh.

68, 40—Meshullak b. Uri, sum of 2 sh.
69—Pamut b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh.
70—Anani b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh.
71—*Ho*shea b. Menahem, sum of 2 sh.
72—Haggai b. Huria, sum of 2 sh.
73—*Mena*hem b. Uri b. Meshullak, sum of 2 sh.
74 . . . . . .
75 . . . . . sum of 2 sh.
76 . . . . . Mattan, sum of 2 sh.
77 . . . . . b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh.
78 Pe*nul*iah b. Menahem b. Pusi, sum of 2 sh.
79—Ḥo*ri* b. Menahem *b.* Pusi, sum of 2 sh.
80—Peluliah b. *Ho*shea, sum of 2 sh.
81—Menaḥemeth daughter of '*Anani* b. 'STḤ, sum of 2 sh.
82—Meshullemeth daughter of . . . . ah, sum of 2 sh.
Sister of Maath and S . . . (?).

Col. v.

83—Mephatteaḥ daughter of ṬSTZ, sum of 2 sh.
84—Yehoshama' daughter of Nathan, sum of 2 sh.
85—Shabith daughter of Ḥori b. Shillem, sum of 2 sh.
86—Re'ia daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh.
87—Yehoshama' daughter of Meshullam, sum of 2 sh.
88, 60—Mephatteaḥ daughter of Shillem, sum of 2 sh.
89—Yaḥmol daughter of Palṭi b. Yeosh, sum of 2 sh.
90—Abihi daughter of Oshea, sum of 2 sh.
91—Nehebeth daughter of Maḥseh, sum of 2 sh.
92—Yehoḥan daughter of Yigdal, sum of 2 sh.
93—Meshullemeth daughter of Ẓephalia, sum of 2 sh.
94 . . . . . .
95 Mena*ḥe*meth daughter of . . . . . *sum of* 2 sh.
96 Nehebeth daughter of Z . . . *sum of* 2 sh.
97 Yaḥmol daughter of *Shille*m, sum of 2 sh.
98, 70—Yehoshama' daughter of Hoshea b. Zaccur, sum of 2 sh.

99—Yehoshama' daughter of Haggai, sum of 2 sh.
100—Ab*ihi* daughter of Nathun, sum of 2 sh.

Col. vi.

101—Yehoḥan daughter of Gedaliah, sum of 2 sh.
102—Salluah daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh.
103—Yehoṭal daughter of Yislaḥ, sum of 2 sh.
104—Ab'osher daughter of Hoshea, sum of 2 sh.
105—Yeho'alai daughter of Immanuiah, sum of 2 sh.
106—Mephatteaḥ daughter of Ẓephaliah, sum of 2 sh.
107—Nehebeth daughter of Zaccur, sum of 2 sh.
108, 80—Menaḥemeth daughter of Yedoniah b. 'Anathi, sum of 2 sh.
109—Meshullam b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh.
110—Meshullemeth daughter of Penuliah, sum of 2 sh.
111—Nathun b. Pelaliah b. Nathun, sum of 2 sh.
112—Haẓul daughter of Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh.
113—. . . . . Nathan, sum of 2 *sh.*
114 . . . . . *Ze*badiah . . . . 2 sh.
115—. . . . . b. Nathan b. . . . . h, sum of 2 sh.
116—. . . . . b. Shillem b. . . . . h, sum of 2 sh.
117—*Yeho*shama' daughter of Ḳon, sum of 2 sh.
118—Re'uiah b. Uri, sum of 2 sh.
119, 90—Meshullam b. Shemaiah, sum of 2 sh.

Col. vii.

120 The money which was paid on that day into the hand of
121 Yedoniah b. Gemariah in the month of Phamenoth, (was)
122 the sum of 31 kerashin 8 shekels.
123 of which 12 k 6 sh for Yahu,
124 7 kerashin for Ishumbethel,
125 the sum of 12 kerashin for 'Anathbethel.

126—Micaiah b. Yehoyishma', sum of 2 sh.
127—Oshea' b. Nathan b. Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh.
128—Ahio b. Nathan b. 'Anani, sum of 2 sh.
129—Azariah b. Haẓul, sum of 2 sh.
130—Joshibiah b. Berechi*ah, sum of 2 sh.*
131 . . . . . 2 . .
132—. . . . h daughter of Ki . . . ., sum of 2 sh.

(Reverse :)

133—Megaphernes b. VŠḤI, sum of 2 sh. for ANDM (?).
134—VŠḤI b. ZDMR, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).

135—Haggai b. Miphṭaḥiah, sum of 2 sh. for . . . (?).

l. 1. " 5th year," probably of Darius II.
l. 2. Women are counted as belonging to the garrison.
l. 5 no doubt originally mentioned the company (centuria) to which they belonged. Cf. ll. 19, 31.
l. 6. " he (gave ?) " and " for himself " : the meaning is quite uncertain, here and elsewhere.
l. 24. The " 20 " in the margin is the number of names so far. In l. 48 the " 20 " must represent a new numeration.
l. 117. " Ḳon," a short form of Ḳoniah.
ll. 120–125 give the total receipts so far, showing that 42 names are lost. The assignment of the money leaves 2 shekels over.
l. 121. Yedoniah was the head of the community. Cf. 30 [1].
ll. 124, 125. Ishumbethel (if that is the right vocalisation) and 'Anathbethel are apparently divinities worshipped along with Yahu. See Introduction, p. xiii.
l. 126 begins a supplementary list.
ll. 133, 134. These two contributors have Persian names. The meaning of ANDM is uncertain.

No. 23.

List of Names. Probably about 420 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 90.)

1 Ahio b. Nathan.
2 Nathan b. Ma'uziah.
3 Hur b. Benaiah (?).

4 Maḥseh b. Yehoṭal.
5 Ḥanan b. Pekhnum.
6 Shallum b. H . . . .
7 Palṭi b. Mattan (?).
8, 10 Kushi b. Azzur. 10.
9 Peṭekhnum b. Ḥori.
10 Re'uiah b. Zechariah.
11 Menahem b. Mattan.
12 Pekhnum b. Zaccur.
13 Haggai b. Micaiah.
14 Didi (?) b. Uri b. Maḥseh.
15 Sheva b. Zechariah.

l. 8. The " 10 " in the margin shows that two lines are lost at the beginning. The " 10 " on the other side belongs to another column, now lost.

No. 24.

Account of Corn supplied. Probably 420 B.C.
(Sachau, p. 86.)

1 *Ration of* Peṭemut (?) b. IŠMN, barley ardab 1.
2 ,, ZBIS. b. Nebushalliv, ,, ,, ,,
3 ,, Haggai b. Shemaiah, ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, IŠMN b. Ap', ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, Peṭisi b. Zaphruth, ,, ,, ,,
6 ,, —Ẓeḥo *b.* ẒPHR . . for him ,, ,, ,, . . .(?).
7 (?) ,, Samuaḥ . . . . . ,, ,, ,, and 2 quarters.
8 ,, Ḥor . . . . . .
9 ,, ...
10 ,, —. . . . . 2 (?).
11 ,, ... Nathan, barley ardab 1.
12 ,, ... AḤLBNI, *barley ardab 1.*
13 ,, Hur b. Nurshavash, barley ardab 1.
14 ,, Shamashgiriya b. Belbani, ,, ,, ,,

15 „ VRD b. Zuthi.
16 (?) „ Hur b. Y'ULU, barley ardab 1 and 2 quarters.
17 „ . . . . . b. Abihu, „ „ „
18 „ . . . . . PHRI, „ „ „

Cf. No. 2. The persons named are no doubt members of the garrison, though not all Jews.

Col. ii.

19 . . . . . barley ardab 1 . . . (?).
20 . . . . . .
21 . . . . . 100.
22 . . . . . barley ardab 1.
23 . . . . . barley ardab.
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . b. PṬNTU, barley ardab 1.
26 . . . nkl b. Uri, barley ardab 1.

27 . . . . *To*tal persons 54, including
28 *total persons 2* at 1½ ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 3.
29 *total persons* 22 at 1 ardab of barley each, = barley ardabs 22.
30 *total per*sons 30 at 2½ ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 75.
31 . . . *to*tal cost a*mounting to*
32 . . . . barley ardabs 100.

l. 27. "Total persons 54," therefore about half the original number of lines is lost.

Col. iii.

33 Total out*put of what was de*livered to the garrison of Syene from the . . .
34 that is the *20th day of the month Me*ḥir in the 4th year, to the

35 20th of Me*ḥ*ir *in the 5th year.* What was delivered as food . . . which
36 . . . . . brought *from* the district of Thebes by the hand of Onophris,
37 . . . . . b. Br'vh, and 'Edri b. A . . .
38 Ba*rley ardabs* 1446, G 2, H 4.

39 And of corn (?) of TŠṬRS, the ration which was given out to the gar*rison*
40 from (?) 1019.
41 . . . . . 1252, G 1, H . . .

42 And what . . . . . was given as a ration to the garrison . . . . from
43 **TŠṬRS**, *ardabs* 1690.

44 . . . . . Me*ḥ*ir, year . . . .
45 . . . . . and from . . .
46 . . . . . xx76 . . . .

Col. 3 seems to be a summary of supplies for the year.
l. 34. "the 4th year," probably of Darius II, judging from the writing.
l. 39. "TŠṬRS," the southern province, as in No. 27[9].

No. 25.

Renunciation of Claim. 416 B.C.

(Sayce-and Cowley, J.)

1 On the 3rd of Chisleu, year 8, that is the 12th day of Thoth, year 9 of Darius the king, at that date in Yeb
2 the fortress said Yedoniah b. Hoshaiah b. Uriah, Aramæan of Yeb the fortress, before Widrang commander of the garrison

3 of Syene, to Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah b. Nathan, his brother, their mother being Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, before
4 Widrang commander of the garrison of Syene, as follows: I withdraw (my claim) against you on the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah. These are its boundaries:
5 at the upper end, the house of Hosea b. Uriah adjoins it; at the lower end of it, the house of Haẓul b. Zechariah adjoins it;
6 at the lower end and above, there are open windows; on the east of it, is the temple of the God Yahu, and the highway
7 of the king between them; on the west of it, the house of Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah, which Mahseiah her father gave her,
8 adjoins it. This house, whose boundaries are described above, is yours, Yedoniah and Mahseiah both
9 sons of Nathan, for ever, and your children's after you. To whom you will, you may give it. I shall have no power, I Yedoniah, or my sons
10 or female or male dependant of mine, I shall have no power to set in motion suit or process against you, nor shall we have power to sue son or daughter of yours,
11 brother or sister, female or male dependant of yours, or any man to whom you may sell this house, or to whom you may give it as a gift,
12 on behalf of me, Yedoniah, or on behalf of my sons or dependants female or male. If I, Yedoniah, sue you, or you are sued by
13 a son of mine or daughter or female or male dependant, on my behalf or on behalf of my sons, (or

anyone) except a son or daughter of Jezaniah b. Uriah,
14 or (if) they sue son or daughter, or female or male dependant of yours, or a man to whom you may sell or to whom you may give as a gift
15 this house, or whoever shall bring a claim against you, shall pay you a fine of the sum of ten kerashin, that is 10 kerashin at the rate of
16 2 R to 1 karash by royal weight, and the house is assured to you for ever and to your sons after you, failing
17 any sons of Jezan b. Uriah, without question.
Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote (this deed) at the direction of Yedoniah b. Hosea and the witnesses
18 hereto
Menahem b. Shallum :
Mahseiah b. Yedoniah :
Menahem b. Gadol b. Ba'adiah :
Yedoniah b. Meshullam :
19 Yislaḥ b. Gadol :
Gadol b. Berechiah :
Jezaniah b. Penuliah :
Ahio b. Nathan.
(Endorsement :)
20 Deed of renunciation, which Yedoniah b. Hosea wrote concerning the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah,
21 for Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah his brother, both of them.

l. 1. Year 8 in the Jewish reckoning, which began the year in the spring (Nisan), = year 9 in the Egyptian reckoning, which began the year in the previous December (Thoth).
l. 3. Nathan = Ashor. See No. 20 [3].
l. 4. " before Widrang," etc. : repeated from l. 2 by an error.
l. 13. " except " : the meaning is not quite certain.
l. 17. The same scribe who wrote Nos. 18 and 20. His father wrote Nos. 10, 13.

No. 26.

Order to Repair a Boat. 412 B.C. (Sachau, p. 44.)

1 From Arsames to Waḥiprimaḥi: Now *the boat of*
Pesmesnith and his colleagues the boatmen of the
fortifications is worn out *as reported*
2 to us by Mithradates the boatman as follows: Thus
says Pesmesn*ith* . . . . . *the boatmen of*
3 the fortifications say thus: The boat of which we
have charge, it is time to do its repairs. *There-*
upon I sent word as follows: Let the specification
4 be drawn up acc*ur*ately and sent to the accountants
of the treasury. They with *the* commanders
Shemsillek and his colleagues are to inspect *this*
boat
5 and make a report on it (?), and let the arsenic (?)
which is required (?) by the specification, paint (?)
and the rest be sent, *and let the accountants* give
all the materials
6 and let its repairs be done immediately, and the
rest about which word was sent to them from me.
Thereupon they sent and *thus said their messengers:*
On
7 the beach which is in front of the fortress, b*etween*
its *fortification*s Mithradates the boatman showed
us the boat. We report that by Pesmesnith
and . . . . .,
8 both boatmen of the fortifications, it is described
accurately, and we have reported to Shemsil'ek
and his colleagues the commanders, (and) Shemu *b.*
9 Kanufi, head of the carpenters, of SPYT, and they
said thus: It is time to *ma*ke *its rep*airs. This is
the specification (of) what is required (?) to do its
repairs:

10 Cedar and AR wood, new, (each) plank 10 cubits . . . . . 80 cubits by 3 hand-breadths, among them ribs (?) of 12 cubits;

11 boards (?) 15, each of 20 cubits; a S'BL, 70 cubits; ḤNN for the hold (?) 3; a sail (?) for the mast (?), 1;

12 planks for the ḤL of 60 cubits; a PḤṬMUNI for the P'R'R, 1 of 2 cubits; APSI under the ḤL, 5; nails of bronze and iron,

13 200; planks of cedar, seasoned (?), strong, TMIS, 20 cubits; the equivalent of all of it, both sound (?) and broken, he is to bring to the treasury; sails (?) of

14 cotton, thick, 180 kerashin; awnings (?), 250 kerashin; planks of cedar, new; 2 ḤNN, each 5 cubits

15 3 hands by 3 hands; for the ḤL, nails of bronze, 150, each 3 hands, 275,

16 each 10 finger-breadths; total nails, 425; plates of bronze, 20 cubits; nails for them, 200;

17 planks of cedar, seasoned (?), Egyptian (?) government, 1 talent 10 minæ in all; add (?) sulphur, 10 kerashin, and arsenic for the painting (?), 100 kerashin;

18 and they shall add to the planks which are (?) supplied, to the board in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth and thickness 2 fingers; and to

19 the SIM, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth 2 fingers; and to the planed boards (?) and ḤNN in length each 1 hand; and to

20 the S'BL, the wood for the ḤL, the rows of TMIS, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth 1 finger. The sails (?) of cotton, the awning (?),

21 the arsenic, the sulphur, are to be supplied by Persian weight. Let word be sent that these materials are to be delivered to Shemu b. Kanufi, head of

22 the carpenters, of SPYT, for the purpose of the repair of this boat, and let him do (it) at once, according to the order issued. Now Arsames says as follows: You are to act

23 in accordance with this which the accountants say, according to the order issued. ʿAnani, secretary, drafted the order. Nabuʿaḳab wrote (it).

24 Waḥprimaḥi . . . . . .

25 According to the order issued . . . . . wrote . . .

26 . . . . . .

27 From Arsames, which he . . . .

28 Nabuʿaḳab *wrote* the document on the 13th of Tebeth, in the 12th year of Dari*us the king* . . . .

The translation is very difficult owing to the many technical terms of unknown meaning.

l. 1. Arsames was the satrap of Egypt.

l. 9. "SPYTKN": an adjective formed from a place-name. Cf. l. 22.

l. 17. "Egyptian government" is very doubtful.

No. 27.

Petition to Arsames (?). About 410 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 26.)

1 . . . we should be injured (?). When (?) detachments of the Egyptians rebelled, we did not leave our posts,

2 and *no*thing disloyal was found in us. In the 14th year of *King* Darius, when our lord Arsames

3 went away to the king, this is the crime which the priests of the god Khnûb *committ*ed in the fortress of Yeb

4 in concert with Waidrang who was governour here, after giving him money and valuables: there is a part

5 of the king's stores which is in the fortress of Yeb, (this) they wrecked, and *they* built a wall *in* the midst of the fortress of Yeb . . . . . .

. . . . . .

6 Now this wall is built in the midst of the fortress. There is a well which is built

7 with*in* the *for*tress, and it never lacks water to supply the garrison, so that (?) if it is supervised (?) they would be

8 (able to get) water to drink in *this* we*ll.* Those priests of Khnub stopped up this well. If enquiry

9 be made of the magistrates, officers (and) police who are set over the province of TŠṬRS

10 it will be made *known* to your lordship in accordance with what we say. Moreover we are innocent

11 *of this damage* to the stores which *were* in *the* fo*rtress of* Yeb

12 . . . . . thus we are free from blame, and *anything*

13 *harmful of this kind* has not been found in *us, but* the *priest*s *will not allow*

14 *us* to bring meal-*offering and incense*

15 *and sacrifice* to offer there to Yahu the *God of heaven*

16 . . . . . .

17 . . . . . but *they made there* a fire (?)

18 *and the rest of* the fittings they took for *them*selves, *all of it.*

19 *Now i*f it please your lordship, *let the* inj*ury be* very much *remembered*

20 *which was done to us,* us of the *Jewish* garrison.

21 *If it* please *your lor*dship let an *order* be given *according to*

22 *what* we *state.* If it *please your* lo*rdship, let word be sent*

23 *that they shall not in*jure anything which *is ours*
24 *and* to *build* the *altar* (?) of ours which they destroyed.

Very imperfect, especially at the end, on the reverse.
The petition is evidently an earlier appeal relating to the events described in No. 30.
l. 7. "supervised": the word occurs in 13 [4], but its meaning is very doubtful.

No. 28.

Assignment of Slaves. 410 B.C.
(Sayce and Cowley, K.)

1 On the 24th of Shebaṭ, year 13, that is the 9th day of Athyr, year 14 of Darius the king in the fortress of Yeb,
2 said Mahseiah b. Nathan (and) Yedoniah b. Nathan, in all 2, Aramæans of Syene, of the detachment of Wa*riz*ath, as follows: We have agreed
3 together and have divided between us the slaves of Mibṭaḥiah our mother, and note, this is the share which comes to you as a share—you, Yedoniah—,
4 Peṭosiri by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language, thus,
5 "Mibṭaḥiah's." Note also, this is the share which comes to me as a share—me, Mahseiáh—, Belo by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod
6 is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language thus, "Mibṭaḥiah's." You, Yedoniah, are master of Peṭosiri,
7 this slave, who has come to you as a share, from this day for ever, and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him). I shall have no power,

8 I Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or any dependant of mine, to move the court against you or against your children in the matter of Peṭosiri

9 by name, the slave who has come to you as a share. If we move the court against you in the matter, we Mahseiah or my children, or (if) we sue son

10 or daughter of yours or dependant of yours in the matter of Peṭosiri this slave who has come to you as a share, then we will pay to you a fine of standard

11 money ten kerashin, royal weight, and we renounce all claim against you and your children as regards this Peṭosiri

12 who has come to you as a share. He belongs to you and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him) without question. Also as to Tebo

13 by name, the mother of these lads, and Lilu her daughter, whom we do not yet divide between us, when it is *ti*me we will divide them

14 between us, and we will each take possession of his share, and we will write a deed of our partition between us, and (there shall be) no dispute. Nabutuḳulti b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote

15 this deed in the fortress of Yeb at the direction of Mahseiah and Yedoniah his brother. Witnesses thereto : Menahem b. Gadol;

16 Witness Hanan b. Haggai; Witness Nathan b. Yeho'or; Witness Shallum b. Nathan.

(Endorsement :)

17 Deed of assignment of a slave, Peṭosiri. Written by Mahseiah b. Nathan for Yedoniah b. Nathan his brother.

l. 4. Yod, *i. e.* the Aramaic letter Y. The meaning of the mark is obscure. The slaves all have Egyptian names.

No. 29.

Contract for a Loan. About 409 B.C.
(Sachau, p. 61.)

1 In the month of Mesore, year 16 (?) of Darius the king, in Yeb the fortress *said Nathan* (?) *b.* Hosea, Aramæan of

2 Syene, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, to Yis*laḥ* b. Gadol, Aramæan of Syene, of the detachment of . . . . . *as fol*lows: There is to your credit against me

3 the sum of *one* kar*ash, four shekels the balance* (?) *of* 5 (?) minæ *which were* due from me as part of the amount

4 of the value of the house (?) of M . . . . . I Na*than* declare *that I will pay* you this sum,

5 one karash, four, by . . . . . the month of Paḥons, year *17 of Dar*ius the king

6 . . . . . and if I *do not p*ay (and) give you this sum of one karash fo*ur* shekels

7 . . . .

The end is lost. It probably contained provisions similar to those in No. 11.

No. 30.

Petition to the Governour of Judæa. 408 B.C.
(Sachau, p. 3.)

1 To our lord Bigvai, governour of Judæa, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. The health

2 of your lordship may the God of Heaven seek after exceedingly at all times, and give you favour before Darius the king

3 and the princes of the palace more than now a thousand times, and may he grant you long life, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times.

4 Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames

5 departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Yeb, (were) in league with Waidrang who was governour here,

6 saying: The temple of Yahu the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang,

7 the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan who was commander of the garrison in the fortress of Syene saying: The temple which is in Yeb

8 the fortress let them destroy. Then Nephayan led out the Egyptians with the other forces. They came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons,

9 they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, 5 gate-ways

10 of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed, and their doors they set up (?), and the hinges

11 of those doors were bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it, with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there,

12 all of it they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and silver and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took

13 and made their own. Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt

14 he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all *of them* they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple.
15 When this was done, we with our wives and our children put on sack-cloth and fasted and prayed to Yahu the Lord of Heaven,
16 who let us see (our desire) upon that Waidrang, the abominable. They tore off the anklets from his legs, and all the riches he had gained were destroyed, and all the men
17 who had sought to do evil to that temple, all *of them*, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also before this, at the time when this evil
18 was done to us, we sent a letter *to* your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother
19 of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. They have not sent any letter to us. Also since the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king
20 till this day we wear sack-cloth and fast. Our wives are made widow-like, we do not anoint ourselves with oil
21 and we drink no wine. Also from that (time) till (the present) day in the 17th year of Darius the king, neither meal-offering, incense, nor sacrifice
22 do they offer in that temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all *of them* inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows :
23 If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build *it*, since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your

24 well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt, (and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Yahu

25 to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice

26 on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Jews,

27 all who are here, if they do so that this temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before Yahu the God of

28 Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sum of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this

29 we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governour of Samaria.

30 Also of all this which was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marḥeshwan the 17th year of Darius the king.

This must be a copy or draft of the letter actually sent.

l. 1. Bigvai = Bagoas in Josephus, *Ant.* 10 [7], where Ioannes (= Johanan in l. 18) is also mentioned as High-Priest.

l. 2. "seek after": the regular formula in human greetings.

l. 7. "reprobate" does not seem very suitable, but no better meaning has been suggested. The word occurs several times.

l. 10. "set up" is difficult. Possibly "lifted them off their hinges" (?) or "stood them against the wall" to burn them.

l. 13. "when Cambyses came into Egypt" in 525 B.C.

l. 16. "the abominable," lit. "dog-like." It may be "the dogs tore off," after he was killed. But the sentence is obscure.

l. 19. "They have not sent," because they disapproved of the temple?

l. 24. "to them," *i. e.* to the Egyptians.

l. 26. "on your behalf," though he was a non-Jewish official.

l. 28. "As to gold," as bakhshish.

l. 30. "Arsames knew nothing," and so was not to blame. He was away at the time. Cf. ll. 4, 5.

No. 31.

A Duplicate of No. 30. Same date.
(Sachau, p. 23.)

1 To *our* lord *Bigvai, governour of Judæa, your servants Yedoniah and* his *colleagues the* priests . . .
2 God of *Heaven* seek after at all times. May he *give you* favour *before Da*rius . . .
3 May he grant you long *life,* and may you be happy and prosperous at all times. Now your serv*ant* Yedoniah . . .
4 Year 14 of Darius the king, when Arsames departed and went *to* the king . . .
5 The fortress. They gave money and valuables to Waidrang the governour who was here, sa*ying* . . .
6 let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang, the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Ne*phay*an, who . . .
7 of Yahu the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb, let them destroy. Then that Nephayan led out *the* Egypt*ians* . . .
8 their weapons. They went into that temple. They destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of s*tone* . . .
9 5 great gate-ways, built of hewn stone, which were in that te*mp*le . . .
10 those, of bronze, and the roof of that temple, all of it of cedar wood, with the re*st* . . .
11 they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and of silver and *ever*y thing . . .
12 they made. Already in the day of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in Yeb . . .
13 He found that built, and the temples of the gods of the Egyptians all *of them they overthrew,* but *no* one did any . . .

14 was done, we with our wives, and our children have been wearing sack-cloth, fa*sting* . . .
15 let us see (our desire) on that Waidrang, the abominable. They tore off his anklets from his legs and a*ll* . . .
16 sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also . . .
17 to us, we sent a letter about this . . . to your lordship a*nd* to Johanan . . .
18 and to Ostanes the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of Judæa. A let*ter* . . .
19 Year 14 of King Darius till this day we *wear* sack-c*loth* . . .
20 we do not anoint ourselves with oil and we drink no wine. *Also fro*m that t*ime* till t*his* . . .
21 meal-offering, incense nor sacrifice do they offer in that temple. Now . . .
22 and the Jews all of them, citizens of Yeb, say as follows: If it seem good to your lords*h*ip, t*ake thought* . . .
23 allow us to build it. Look upon your well-wishers and friends who are here . . .
24 concerning the temple of the God Yahu to build it in the fortress of Yeb as . . .
25 and the sacrifice we will offer on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will p*ray* . . .
26 and all the Jews who are here, if you do so that this temple be *re-built* . . .
27 Heaven, more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth the sum of a thousand talents. As to . . .
28 matter, we have sent a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the s*ons of* . . .

29 all that was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On
the 20th of Marḥeshwan the 17th year . . .

The ends of all the lines are lost.

No. 32.

Answer to No. 30. About 408 B.C.
(Sachau, p. 28.)

1 Memorandum from Bigvai and Delaiah. They said
2 to me: Let it be an instruction to you in Egypt
to say
3 to Arsameś about the altar-house of the God of
4 Heaven, which was built in the fortress of Yeb
5 formerly, before Cambyses,
6 which Waidrang, that reprobate, destroyed
7 in the 14th year of Darius the king,
8 to rebuild it in its place as it was before,
9 and they may offer the meal-offering and incense
upon
10 that altar as formerly
11 was done.

l. 2. "to me": the messenger, not named.
l. 9. Note that animal sacrifice is not mentioned. Intentionally?

No. 33.

A further Petition, connected with No. 30. About 407 B.C. (Sachau, p. 31.)

1 Your servants Yedoniah b. *Gemariah* by name, 1.
2 Ma'uzi b. Nathan by name, 1.
3 Shemaiah b. Haggai by name, 1.
4 Hosea b. Yathom by name, 1.
5 Hosea b. Nathun by name, 1, total 5 men,

6 Syenians who *hold property* in the fortress of Yeb,
7 say as follows: If your lordship is *favourable*
8 and the temple of Yahu the God which *we had* (?) *be rebuilt* (?)
9 in the fortress of Yeb as it was form*erly built*,
10 and sheep, oxen (and) goats are *not* offered as burnt-sacrifice there,
11 but incense, meal-offering *and drink-offering only*,
12 and (if) your lordship gives orders *to that effect, then*
13 we will pay to your lordship's house the *sum of . . . . and also*
14 a thou*sand* ardabs of barley.

This may have been sent to Bigvai after receipt of his answer, No. 32. Or it may be addressed to Arsames.
l. 10. They seem to agree not to offer animal sacrifice.

34

A Letter. Probably about 407 B.C.

(Sachau, p. 63.)

1, 2 . . . . . khnum, now these are the names of the women who were *found*
3 *at the gate in Thebes* (?) *and were taken pri*soners: Rami, wife of Hodar, Asirshuth, wife of Hosea, Pelul, wife of Yislaḥ, Re'ia . . . . . .
4 Ẓebia, daughter of Meshullam, Yekhola her sister. These are the names of the men who were found at the gate in Thebes (?) and *were* taken *prisoners:*
5 Yedonia b. Gemariah, Hosea b. Yathom, Hosea b. Nathum, Haggai his brother, Ahio b. M*ahseiah* (?). *They have left* (?)
6 the houses which they had entered in Yeb, and the property which they had taken they have restored indeed to the owners of it, but they remembered (?) . . . . . *the sum of*

7 120 kerashin. Moreover they will have no further
authority here. Peace be to your house and your
children till the Gods let *us* see (our desire) *upon
them.*

This seems to refer to violence done at the time of the destruction of the temple.
l. 5. Cf. the names in No. 33. "They," *i. e.* the Egyptian rioters.

No. 35.

Contract for a Loan. About 400 B.C.
(Sachau, p. 128.)

1 On the 21st (?) *of Phamen*oth, year 5 of Amyrtæus
the king at that time
2 said *Menahem* b. *Shal*om, Aramæan of Yeb the
fortress, of the detachment of Nabukudurri,
3 to Sallu*a* daughter of Sa*m*uaḥ, as follows: You have
a claim on me for the sum of 2 shekels,
4 that is the *sum* of 1 stater, being part of the money
and goods which are (prescribed) in the deed
5 of your marriage. I, Menahem, will give it and pay
you in full by
6 the 30th of Pharmuthi, year 5 of King Amy*rt*æus.
If I have *not*
7 *paid off* and given to you this sum of 2 *she*kels,
that is 1 stater,
8 *by the* said *day* which is written above, *and it* come
to *the 1st* (?) *of Pa*ḥons,
9 *this* your money, the sum of *2* shek*els* that is the
su*m of* 1 *stat*er, *shall be doubled* (?),
10 *and I will give you,* Sallua, your *money* and . . . . .
your *mon*ey
11 . . . . . *if* I sue you *or sue your* son . . . .

l. 1. Amyrtæus is the Egyptian who rebelled against Persia shortly before 400 B.C.
l. 9. The end is too fragmentary to be restored. Cf. No. 11.

No. 36.

Part of a Marriage Contract. No date.
(Sachau, p. 49.)

1 new, 21 (?) . . . .
2 5 cubits 3 hands by 3 (cubits) and 4 hands, worth
the sum of 3 shekels; 1 . . . new, 7 cubits
3 by 4 and a span, worth the sum of 4 shekels 20
ḥallurin; 1 . . . new, of wool, worth the sum of
4 10 ḥallurin; 1 cup of bronze worth the sum of 15 (?)
ḥallurin; 1 bowl of bronze . . . .

Cf. No. 15.

The Words of Aḥiḳar.

Col. i. (Sachau, p. 148.)

1 *These are the wo*rds of one named Aḥiḳar, a wise and ready scribe, which he taught to the son o*f his sister, whom he brought up.*

2 *For* he said "Surely he shall be a son to me." Before *his* words Aḥiḳar *had become gre*at and *had been counsellor of all Assyria*

3 *and bea*rer of the seal of Senacherib king of Assyria, *and he said: I* indeed *had no* sons *and on my counsel*

4 and words Senacherib king of Assyria used to (rely). *Then Sen*acherib k*ing of Assyria died and there arose*

5 his son named Esarhaddon and became king in Assyria inst*ead of Senacherib his f*ather. At *that time I said*

6 "*I am* old *and who shall be* to *me* a son after *me to do my service? and who shall be*

7 *scribe and bearer of the sea*l to Es*arhaddon the king, as I was to Senacherib,*

8 *king of* Assyria?" Then I, *Aḥiḳar, took Nadin, as he was called,* the son *of my sister, and brought him up,*

9 and taught him and *showed great* kindness *to him, and set him in the ga*te of the palace with *me before the king among*

10 his courtiers. I brought him before Esarhaddon king of Assyria, and he told him wh*atever*

11 he asked him. Then Esarhaddon king of Assyria loved him and said "L*ong* life *be to Aḥiḳar,*

12 the wise scribe, counsellor of all Assyria, who set
up as his son, when *he had* no son, *the son of his*
sister."
13 When the king of Assyria had thus spoken, I bowed
down and made obeisance, I Aḥiḳar, before Esar-
haddon king of Assyria.
14 *And in after days I,* Aḥiḳar, when I saw the face of
Esarhaddon king of Assyria favourable, I answered
15 *and said before the king* " I *served Senach*erib the
king your father who was king *before you*
16 . . . . . *and now behold*

The name is spelt here Aḥiḳar in deference to custom. It would be pronounced Aḥuyaḳar in Babylonian, Aḥyeḳar in Aramaic. Cf. Greek Ἀχιάχαρος.

l. 1. " scribe " is a man learned in the law, a councillor. The ends of this and the following lines are difficult to restore. Possibly the papyrus is not correctly pieced together. l. 16 is missing. Otherwise the text is continuous.

Col. ii. (Sachau, p. 151.)

17 I am old. I cannot work in the gate of the palace
and do my service to you.
18 *Beho*ld, my son, Nadin by name, is full-grown. Let
him take my place as scribe *and counsellor of all*
Assyria, and let him
19 be seal-*bear*er to you. My wisdom also and my
couns*el I have taught him.*" *Then answered*
Esarhaddon
20 *king* of Assyria and said to me, " So indeed it shall
be. Your son shall be scribe and seal-bearer to me
21 in your stead. He shall do your service *for me.*"
Then I, Aḥiḳar, when I heard
22 *the promise* given, went away to my house *and was*
resting in my house. And this my son
23 *whom* I had *brought up* and set in the gate of the
palace *before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, among*

24 *his courtiers,* I thought " He will see*k my* good *in*
return for that which I have done for him." *Then*
25 *the son of* my *sister* whom I had brought up, imagined
against *me evil and said in his heart,*
26 " Surely *such words as these* can I say, ' *This Aḥiḳar,*
the old man, who was seal-bearer
27 to Senacherib the king your father *has corrupted the*
land against you, for he is a counsellor and a skilful
28 *scribe* and by his counsel and words *all Assyria was*
(*guided*).' *Then Esarhaddon*
29 will be greatly troubled when he hears words *like*
these which I shall speak to him, and will kill
Aḥiḳar." *Then*
30 when my son who was not my son, had devised *this*
falsehood against me . . . . .
31 . . . . . .

l. 31 is lost. It must have related how he told his story to the king.

Col. iii. (Sachau, p. 153.)

32 *Then was Es*arhaddon king of Assyria *filled with*
rage and said
33 " *Let there come to me Nabusumiskun* one of the
officers of my father, who *ate* the bread of my
father."-
34 *The king said,* " You are to seek *Aḥiḳar* wherever
you may find *him*
35 *and kill him.* Even if this Aḥiḳar, the old man, is
a skilful scribe
36 *and counsellor of all Assy*ria, why should he corrupt
the land against us? " Then when
37 *the king of As*syria *had thus spoken,* he appointed
with him 2 other men to see how
38 *he would act.* This *Nab*usumiskun the officer *went*
away riding on a swift horse,

39 *and those men* with him. Then after three more days indeed
40 *he, with* other *men* who were with him, f*ound me* while I was walking among the vineyards.
41 *And when this Nab*usumiskun the officer *saw me the*n he rent his clothes, lamenting,
42 *and said, "Are you he,* the skilful scribe, giver of good counsel, who
43 *was a righteous* man *and by* whose counsel and words all Assyria was (guided)?
44 *The son whom you brought up,* whom you set in the gate of the palace, has injured you (?); he has ruined you, and
45 an *evil* return *is it."* *The*n I, Aḥiḳar, indeed was afraid. I answered and said to Nabusum*iskun*
46 *the officer, "(Yes, and) also* I am that Aḥiḳar who formerly saved you from an undeserved death
47 *when Senacherib* the father of this Esarhaddon, the king, was angry with you
48 *to kill you. The*n I took you to my house. There I was supporting you

Col. iv. (Sachau, p. 155.)

49 as a man (deals) with his brother, and I hid you from him. I said, 'I have killed him,' until in after time and many days
50 after, I brought you before king Senacherib and took away your offences before him, and he did you no evil.
51 Moreover king Senacherib was well pleased with me that I had kept you alive and had not killed you. Now
52 according as I did to you, so do also to me. Do not kill me. Take me to your house un*til* other days.

53 King Esarhaddon is kind as one friend to another.
He will remember me and desire my counsel.
Then you
54 *shall bring* me to him and he shall let me live."
Then *answered* Nabusumiskun the officer and said
to me, " Fear not. Surely
55 *you shall l*ive, Aḥiḳar, father of all Assyria, by whose
counsel king Senacherib and *all* the army of
Assyria
56 were (guided)." Then Nabusumiskun the officer said
to his companions, those two men who were with
him,
57 " He*arken* indeed, a*nd listen* to me, and I will tell
you *my* counsel, and it is a good counsel
58 *exceedingly*." Th*en answered* those two *men* and
said to *him*, " Tell us indeed, Nabusumiskun the
officer,
59 what *you* th*ink, and we will listen* to you." Then
answered Nabusumiskun the officer and said to
them, " Hear me :
60 indeed this *Aḥiḳ*ar was a great man *and bearer of
the se*al to *king* Esarhaddon, and by his counsel
and words
61 all the army of *Assy*ria were (guided). Let us not
kill him *undeservedly. A slave,* a eunuch of mine,
I will give to you.
62 Let him be killed between *the*se two mountains
instead of this Aḥiḳar, and whe*n it is heard,* the
king *will* send other *m*en
63 after us to see the body of this Aḥiḳar. Then *they
will see the body* of *thi*s eunuch my slave,

Col. v. (Sachau, p. 157.)

64 until afterwards Esarhaddon *the king remembers
Aḥiḳar and desires his counsel, and grieves*

over him, and the heart of Esarhaddon *the king shall turn and he shall say to his officers and courtiers*
' I will give you riches as the number *of the sand if you find Aḥiḳar.' " And this counsel*
seemed good to his companions, those two *men. They answered and said to Nabusumiskun, the officer,*
" Do according as you think. *Let us not kill him, but you shall give us* that *slave,*
the eunuch, instead of Aḥiḳar *here. He shall be killed between these two mountains."*
At that time it was reported in the country *of Assyria, saying, " Aḥiḳar the scribe of Esarhaddon*
the king is killed." Then Nabusumiskun, *that officer, took me to his house and hid me, also*
he sustained me there as *a man* (*deals*) *with his brother, and said to his servants, " Let bread and water*
be carried to my lord." *So he gave me . . .*
abundant sustenance (?) and goods in plenty. *Then Nabusumiskun, that officer,*
went to Esarhaddon the king *and said to him, " According as you commanded me, so have I done.*
I went and found *that* Aḥiḳar *and killed him." And when* king *Esarhaddon*
heard this he asked the two men *whom he had appointed with Nabusumiskun and they said, " So it was, as*
he says." Then as long as *king* Esarhaddon . . . . .

l. 64. The text is continuous from col. iv, though the connexion is loose.
l. 78. The narrative breaks off here.

* * *
* *
*

Col. vi. (Sachau, p. 160.)

79 What is stronger than wine foaming in the p*ress*?
80 The son who is trained and taught, and on *whose* feet the fetter is put *shall prosper.*
81 Withhold not thy son from the rod, if thou canst not keep *him from wickedness.*
82 If I smite thee, my son, thou wilt not die, and if I leave (thee) to thine own heart *thou wilt not live.*
83 A blow for a slave, rebuke for a maid, and for all thy servants dis*cipline. A man who*
84 Buys a lic*entious* slave (or) a thievish maid *brings* an*xiety into his house, and disgraces*
85 The name of his father and his offspring with the reputation of his wantonness. The scorpion *finds*
86 Bread and does not *eat* in order that *he may* live, but it is too good for him to *taste.*
87 . . . . . thou hast done . . . . . the blood of the hind . . .
88 The lion devours (?) the hart in the secrecy of (his) den (?), and he . . .
89 And will shed his blood and eat his flesh: so is the contact of *men.* F*rom fear of* the lion
90 The ass left *his burden* and will not carry it. He shall bear shame before his fellow *and shall be*ar a b*ur*den which is not *his,*
91 And shall be laden with a camel's load. The ass made obeisance to the she-ass from love of her, and the birds . . .
92 Two things are goodly (?), and of three there is pleasure to Shamash: *one who drink*s wine and gives it (to others), one who restrains (?) wisdom . . .
93 And he hears a word and does not reveal it. Behold, this is precious *before* Shamash. But one who drinks wine and does not *give it to others*

94 And his wisdom goes astray . . . . . who sees? . . .
Thou hast placed . . . . . peoples . . . . . .
the gods . . .

The " proverbs " begin with this column.

l. 79. " wine foaming " has been generally taken as " an ass braying " (cf. Syriac, No. 8), but " in the press," if right, makes this impossible.

ll. 80–85. Cf. Nos. 22–26 in the Syriac.

l. 92. Note the numerical maxim, common in wisdom-literature.

l. 93. " Shamash," the Babylonian god, the judge of right and wrong, rather than " the sun." So in l. 171.

Col. vii. (Sachau, p. 163.)

95 Even to gods is it precious, *to it* for *ever* belongs the kingdom, in h*eave*n it is treasured up, for the lord of holiness has exalted *it*.

96 My son, do not chatter overmuch till thou reveal *every wo*rd

97 *which* comes into thy mind, for in every place are their *eyes* and their ears; *but* keep watch over thy mouth, let it not be *thy* destruction (?).

98 More than all watchfulness watch thy mouth, and *over* what *thou* h*earest* harden thy heart, for a word is (like) a bird, and when he has sent it forth a man does not *re-capture it* (?).

99 *Count* the secrets of thy mouth, afterwards bring forth (advice) to thy *brother* for his help, for stronger is the ambush of the mouth than the ambush of fighting.

100 Suppress not the word of a king: it may be a healing to thy *brother*. Soft is the speech of a king, (but) it is sharper and stronger than a *two*-edged knife.

101 Behold before thee something hard: *in pre*sence of a k*ing* stand not. Swifter is his anger than lightning. Do thou take heed to thyself.

102 Let him not *show* it at thy *words*, that thou go
away before thy time.
103 *In presence* of a king, if (a thing) is commanded
thee, it is a burning fire; hasten, do it; let it
not kindle upon thee and hide (?) thy hands, *for*
104 Also the word of a king is with wrath of heart.
Why should wood strive with fire, flesh with a
knife, a man with *a king?*
105 I have tasted even the bitter sloe, and the *taste*
was strong, but there is nothing which is more
bitter than poverty. Soft is the tongue of a *king*
106 But it breaks the ribs of a dragon, like death which
is not seen. In a multitude of children let not
thy heart exult, and in the lack of them *be not*
ashamed.
107 A king is like the merciful (?): even his voice is
high: who is he that can stand before him,
except one who is like (?) him?
108 Glorious is a king to see, like Shamash, and precious
is his sovereignty to those who walk on the earth
in tranquillity.
109 A good vessel hides a thing within itself, but *one*
that is broken lets it go forth.
110 The lion went near to *greet the ass* saying, " Peace
be to thee." The ass answered and said to the
lion.

* * *

l. 95. The subject is probably " wisdom."
l. 96. " chatter overmuch " : the words are indistinct, but this gives the most suitable sense. ll. 97–99 are on the same subject.
ll. 100–108 is another group.
l. 103. " kindle " : so the text. Perhaps it is a mistake.
l. 107. " the merciful," *i. e.* God?
l. 107. " except one who is like him " : the phrase occurs several times, but its meaning is doubtful.
l. 108. " Shamash," as in l. 93. Or it may be " the sun."
l. 110. There is a gap after this line.

Col. viii. (Sachau, p. 166.)

111 I have lifted sand and carried salt, and there is nothing which is heavier than *debt.*

112 I have lifted chaff and taken up bran, and there is nothing which is lighter than (to be) a sojourner.

113 A sword will trouble calm water among good shepherds.

114 A little man when he multiplies his words, they . . . . . above him, for the opening of his mouth . . . .

115 Gods, and if he were beloved of (the) gods they would put something good in his palate to speak.

116 Many are the sta*rs of heaven whose* names man knows not: so man knows not men.

117 There *is no* lion in the sea, therefore they call the . . . . lion (?).

118 The leopard met the goat and she was cold. The leopard answered and said to the goat, "Come and I will cover thee with my hide."

119 The goat *answered* and said to the leopard, "What hast thou to do with me, my lord? Take not my skin from me." For *he does* not

120 Salute the kid except to suck its blood. The master (?) went to the sh*eep* . . . . .

121 I will be silent. The sheep answered and said to him, "Take for thyself what thou wilt *take* from us. We are *thy shee*p."

122 For it is not in the power of men to *lift* up their foot and to put them down with*out* (*the*) *gods.*

123 For it is not in thy power to *lift* thy foot and to put it down. If there goes forth good from the mouth of *men, it is well,*

124 And if a curse shall go forth *from* their mouth, (the) gods will curse them. If the eyes of (the) gods are over m*en*

125 A man cuts (?) wood in the dark and does not see, like a thief who breaks into (?) a house and es*capes* (?).

ll. 111, 112. Cf. Syriac, Nos. 45, 46.
l. 114. Two words not translated, as the meaning is unknown.
l. 117. The reading of the omitted word is uncertain.
l. 120. " The master " : we might read " the bear," or " the wolf."
ll. 122, 123. Two forms of the same proverb.
l. 125. The translation and point are alike doubtful.

Col. ix. (Sachau, p. 169.)

126 *Bend not* thy bow and shoot not thy arrow at the righteous, lest God come to his help and turn it back upon thee.

127 . . . . . do thou, oh my son, gather every harvest and do every work, then thou shalt eat and be filled and give to thy children.

128 *If* thou hast *bent* thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou, the arrow is from (the) gods.

129 . . . . . do thou, oh my son, borrow corn and wheat that thou mayest eat and be filled and give to thy children with thee.

130 A heavy loan and from a wicked man, borrow not, an*d if* thou borrow take no rest to thy soul till

131 *Thou pay back* the loan. *A loan* is pleasant w*hen there is ne*ed, but the paying of it is the filling of a house.

132 *All that thou hearest thou mayest try* by thy ears, for the beauty of a man is his faithfulness, and his hatefulness is the lying of his lips.

133 *At first* the throne is *set* up for the liar, but at l*ast* his lies *shall* find him out, and they shall spit in his face.

134 A liar has his neck cut, like a maiden of the south (?) who *hides* (?) (her) face, like a man who makes a curse

135 Which came not forth from (the) gods.

136 *Despise not* that which is in thy lot, and covet not some great thing which is withheld from thee.

137 *Increase not* riches, and lead not (thy) heart astray.

138 *He who* is not proud of (?) the name of his father and the name of his mother, let not the *sun* shine *upon him*, for he is an evil man.

139 *From myself* has my curse gone forth, and with whom shall I be justified? The son of my body has spied out (?) my house, *and what* can I say to strangers?

140 *There w*as a cruel witness against me, and who then has justified me? From my own house went forth wrath, with whom shall I strive and toil?

141 Thy *secre*ts reveal not before thy *frie*nds, that thy name be not lightly esteemed before them.

l. 126. "God" is plural with a singular verb, as in Hebrew, but it may be only a scribal error.

l. 131. "the filling of a house" is obscure. Perhaps it means "takes all that the house contains."

l. 132. "hatefulness," *i. e.* what makes him hateful.

l. 134 is very obscure. "of the south" is very doubtful.

ll. 139, 140 are suitable to the second series of sayings found in the later versions.

Col. x. (Sachau, p. 172.)

142 With one that is higher than thou, do not go (?) to qu*arrelling* (?).

143 With one that is a noble (?) and stronger than thou, *contend not, for he will take*

144 Of thy portion *and will add it to* his own.
145 Behold, so is a little man who *contends* with *a great man.*
146 Remove not wisdom from thee, and . . . .
147 Be not over crafty, *and let not thy* wis*dom* be extinguished.
148 Be not sweet lest they *swallow* thee up. Be not bitter, *lest they spit thee out.*
149 If thou, my son, wouldst be *exalted, humble thyself before God*
150 Who humbles the lofty man and *exalts the humble man.*
151 How can the l*ips* of *men* curse *when* (*the*) *gods curse not?*
152 Better is he that restrains . . .
153 Let not thy soul love . . . .
154 Heal them, except one who is like him.
155 My hands shall destroy, and . . . .
156 God (?) shall turn back the mouth of the unjust (?) and shall tear out *his* tongue.
157 Good *eyes* shall not be darkened, and *good* ears *shall not be stopped, and a good mouth will love*
158 The truth and speak it.

Col. xi. (Sachau, p. 174.)

159 A man *excellent* in conduct and whose heart is good is like a strong b*ow* which is *bent* by a st*rong man.*
160 *If* a man stand *not* with (the) gods, how shall he be saved by (?) his own strength?
161 . . . . . belly and that which is like it, who shall be judging him (?)?
162 . . . . . men, and peoples pass over them and do not leave them, and their heart is . . . .

163 A man *knows not* what is in the heart of his fellow, and when a good man *sees* an *evil* man *he will beware of him*,

164 He will *not* accompany him on *a journey*, and will not hire him—a good man with *an evil man*.

165 The *bramble* sent to *the* pomegranate saying, "Bramble to Pomegranate, what is the good of *thy many* thorns *to him who touches* thy *fruit?*"

166 . . . . the *pomegranate answered* and said to the bramble, "Thou art all thorns to him who touches thee."

167 The righteous among men, all who meet him are for his help (?).

168 *The house of* wicked men in the day of storm shall be destroyed (?), and in calm (?) its gates shall fall (?), for the spoiling of

169 *The righteous are they.* My eyes which I lifted up on thee and my heart which I gave thee in wisdom,

170 *Thou hast despised and* hast turned my name into wanton*ness*.

171 If the wicked take hold of the skirts of thy garment, leave (it) in his hand. Then approach (?) Shamash. He

172 *Will* take his and give it to thee.

Col. xii. (Sachau, p. 176.)

173 God set me up as a righteous man with thee, w*hy* . . . .

174 My enemies shall die, but not by my sword . . . .

175 I left thee in a hiding-place of cedar, and *thou hast* gone *about* . . .

176 Thou hast left thy friends and hast honoured *my enemies*.

177 Pity (?) a man who knows not what he . . . . .
178 A wise man speaks, for the opening of the mouth of . . . .

(*ll.* 179–183 *are lost.*)

184 . . . . The moth fell into . . . . .

(*l.* 185 *is lost.*)

186 Into a house (?) of bronze the moth fell . . . .
187 My soul knows not its path, therefore . . . .
188 Hunger sweetens what is bitter *and* thirst . . . .
189 Let him that is vexed be satisfied with bread and *the soul that is poor* be sated *with wine.*
190 Men . . . . .

This column is very much broken, and the rest is too imperfect to be translated.

The Behistun Inscription (l. 50–).

Col. i. (Sachau, p. 187.)

* * *

1 *They killed of them* 827 and took alive ...06. A second time the rebel troops gathered together. *They went*

2 *To meet Dadarshish* to join battle. Then they joined battle at the fortress called Tigra, in Armenia. Auramazda helped *me ; by the protection of*

3 *Auramazda* my *army* slew the rebels. On the 18th of Iyyar they joined battle. They slew of them 5046.

4 *The rebel troops* gathered together. They went to meet Dadarshish to join battle. Then they joined battle at Huyav *as it is called,*

5 *The fortress in Armenia. Aura*mazda helped me; by the protection of Au*ramazda* my army slew the rebels. On the 9th of *Sivan*

6 *They joined battle. They killed of* them 472 and took alive ...02. Then Dadarshish did no*th*ing (further), waiti*ng for me in Armenia.*

7 *Thus says Darius the king,* One Vaumisa by name, my servant, a Persian, *to Armenia I sent.* I said, "Go, that a*rm*y, the rebels *who do not*

8 *Obey me, slay them.*" Then Vaumisa went to Armenia. On (his) arriving (there) the rebels gathered together. They went *to meet* Va*umisa to join*

9 *Battle. Then they joined battle.* He killed of them 2034.

10 *A second time* the rebel *troops* gathered together. They went to meet Vaumisa to join battle. They joined battle. *On the 30th* of Iyyar they joined *battle.*

11 They killed of them 2045 *and* took alive 1578. Then Vaumisa *did no*thing, waiting for me *in Armenia.*

12 *Thus says Darius the king, Then* I *went out from Babylon* and went to Media. On arriving in Media at a (city) named Kundur in Media that *Phraor*tes *with*

13 *An army came to meet me. We joined battle. Aura*mazda *he*lped *me,* by the protection of Auramazda I slew the army of *Phraortes.* On *the 25th*

14 *Of Marḫeshwan* (?) *we joined battle. I killed of them* ...5 *and alive* I took 108010. *Then that Phraortes*

15 . . . . *Then I sent the* army . . .

* * *

l. 1. The number of the hundreds is lost.

After l. 3 and elsewhere, the blank space represents an omission. The original was probably worn out and illegible in these places.

l. 4. " Huyav," in the Elamite version " Uiyama." M and V are interchanged in Babylonian.

l. 14. Both numbers are broken.

Col. ii. (Sachau, p. 191.)

16 *Thus says Darius the king, Then the country* was mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

17 *Thus says Darius the king, The country* called Margiana *rebelled.* As king over them they made

18 *One Frada by name. Then I sent* (*the man*) *named Dadarshish, go*vernour *of Bactria.* I said, Go, kill

19 *The army, the rebels. Then Dadarshish joined bat*tle with the Margians. Auramazda helped me.

20 *By the protection of Auramazda they killed* those *rebels.* On the *23rd of Chis*leu they joined battle.
21 *They killed of them 55243, and took alive* 6972.

22 *Thus says king Darius, A certain man, Vayaz*data by name, a Persian, dwelt in Persia. *He said,*
23 *I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. Then the Persian army,* as many as (?) were in the houses in the neighbourhood (?) of the fo*rtr*ess,
24 *Rebelled. They went over to him. He became king in Per*sia. Then I sent the army, which was small, in Persia,
25 *Which had not rebelled, and the army of Media which was with me.* Artavarzi by name, a Persian,
26 *I sent at the head of them. The other army of* Persia and Media went with me. Then Artava*rzi*
27 *With the army went to the place called Rakha in Persia. Then that Vayazda*ta, who said, I am Smerdis *came* (?) with
28 *The army to join battle. They joined battle.* Auramazda helped me, by the protection of A*uramazda*
29 *My army killed the army of Vayazdata. On the 12th of Iyyar* they joined battle. They killed of them 303...
30 *And took alive . . . Then that Vayazdata went with* a small force of cavalry be*fore*
31 *The fortress called Paishiyauvada. Then, with his army, he* came to meet Artavarzi to join
32 *Battle. They joined battle. My army killed the* army *of Vayazda*ta. In the month T*ishri* (?)

Col. iii. (Sachau, p. 192.)

33 They joined battle. They killed of th*em . . . and took alive . . .*

34 They took Vayazdata, and the nobles who were wi*th him they (also) took. Thus says king Darius, Then*

35 I put 10... to death, and the no*bles who were with him I crucified at a place called Uvadaicaya in Persia*

36 52 (of them). This is what I *did* in Persia.

37 Thus says king Darius, *That* Va*yazdata, who said, I am Smerdis,* had sent *an army to Arachosia*

38 And a certain man at the head of the*m to meet my servant named Vivana, a Persian, the governour*

39 Of Arachosia, saying, Go to *Vivana and the army which obeys king Darius*

40 Kill (them). The army of Vayazdata *went to meet Vivana to join battle. They joined battle*

41 Auramazda helped me. *By the protection of Auramazda my army killed the rebels. They killed*

42 Of them 4570... *and took alive . . . On the 13th of Tebeth*

43 They joined battle. Auramazda he*lped me. By the protection of Auramazda my army killed the army of*

44 The rebels. They killed of them 3... *and took alive . . . . . Then fled*

45 That man who was in command *over them with a small force of cavalry and went*

46 Towards (?) Arshada the *fortr*ess in the pro*vince of Arachosia. Then Vivana went with the army to meet him*

47 *To join battle. He join*ed bat*tle. He took him, and killed the nobles who were with him. The total of the killed*

48 *And prisoners whom my ar*my killed *and took, was . . . Thus says king Darius, Then the country was mine.*

49 *This is what I* did *in Ara*chosia. *Thus says Darius the king* . . .

* * *

l. 23. The reading is uncertain. "Neighbourhood": the same word is used in the Babylonian text, but its meaning is doubtful.
l. 32. "the month T . . ." must be either Tishri or Tammuz.
Column iii. reads on continuously.

Col. iv. (Sachau, p. 196.)

50 *Thus says king Darius, Thou*, oh king, who shalt be after me, any man who lies
51 . . . . . against liars, who are many, I warn (thee): . . . . He who lies
52 . . . . . make known how it was done. Do thou . . . . . thy going (?).
53 . . . . . he says, Hear what PRTR says.
54 . . . . . see also before thee.
55 . . . . . .
56 . . . . . lies . . . .
57 . . . . . this . . . . *if* thou hide not . . .
58 . . . . . increase, and thy days be long; but *if thou hide*

59 *Thus says king Darius, These are the men* who stood on my side till I *had killed that* Gaum*ata*
60 *The Magian, who said, "I am Smerdis." They* were especially distinguished *in my sight.*
61 *Indaphernes, by name, son of Vayaspara* a Per*sian: Gaubaruva* son of Mardonius (?)
62 *A Persian* . . . . . *a Per*sian . . . . .
63 . . . . . .

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